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AMERICAN CONSULS TO THE PAPAL STATES, 1797-1870[1]

Soon after the United States was assured its independence by the treaty of Paris, two questions arose involving relations with the pope—the one (religious in character) in his position as Head of the Church, the other (of commercial interest) as temporal ruler of the States of the Church.[2]

Commercial relations with the Papal States were assured on December 15, 1784, when the papal nuncio at Paris wrote to the American commissioners that his government had agreed to open the ports of Civita Vecchia on the Mediterranean, and Ancona on the Adriatic, to American vessels.[3]

On June 26, 1797, John Baptist Sartori of Rome was commissioned as the first consul to represent the United States in the

[1] The history of the more formal diplomatic relations, given by the author in this REVIEW, n. s., III, 103-122, was revised and illustrated for the *News Service Bulletin* of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, June 16, 1929. See also my article in *America*, June 18, 1927, showing the action of Rufus King, U. S. minister, on the occasion of Maximilian's visit to Rome. The author's volume, covering the entire diplomatic relations between the United States and the Papal States, is nearing completion.

[2] For an account of the negotiations, in 1783-1784, with the American commission in Paris concerning the appointment of a prefect apostolic in the United States, to replace the vicar apostolic of London, see Guilday, *Life and Times of John Carroll*, ch. XIII.

[3] Library of Congress, Papers of the Continental Congress, vol. 86, f. 85.

papal dominions.[4] Sartori came to America in April, 1800, leaving affairs in charge of his brother Vincent. The consul's long absence brought protest from the papal government against the continuance of the vice consul in office, unless he should be confirmed by the United States. The post was offered in June, 1806, to John S. Cogdell, of Charleston, S. C., who declined the appointment, and the absent Sartori retained his position until March 3, 1823, when Felix Cicognani, also of Rome and previously in the pope's service, was commissioned.[5]

Sartori possessed one American characteristic: he could not resist a flier in real estate. During the invasion of the French in 1798, much property, especially that belonging to ecclesiastics and to religious communities, was confiscated. Sartori purchased some of this land which, after the treaty of Vienna, was returned to its lawful owners. His heirs, some of whom were in the service of the Roman government, later presented a claim of $122,500 against the Papal States, and urged the United States to effect a settlement. Mr. Stockton, then American minister at Rome, was instructed to refer the matter to the papal secretary of state, who, although the claim was over fifty years standing and had before been held void and illegal, consented to a re-examination of its merits. It was finally rejected, Stockton explaining that he would have been "sanguine at any other time", but that the government was then too greatly disturbed by revolutionary movements to hope for success.[6]

Cicognani's despatches, in addition to the usual routine, reflect an episode of Mexican history. With the establishment of the empire under Iturbide, 1822-1823, the Mexican congress author-

[4] Index Files in Dept. of State, Appointment Office; Sartori to Monroe, July 27, 1812, Dept. of State, Consular Despatches, Rome, 1801-1833. Unless otherwise indicated, all future references will be to the despatches and instructions in the Department of State.

[5] Index Files; Sartori to J. Q. Adams, May 5, 1823; Cicognani to same, May 24, 1824. Objection to Sartori's absence was also made at home; see letter of James Irvine, Feb. 17, 1821.

[6] Nicholas Browne, despatch of Apr. 29, 1847; George F. Lehman to Buchanan, Aug. 31, 1847; Cass to Stockton, Nov. 12, 1859, June 16, 1860; Stockton to Cass, Dec. 5, 1859, Jan. 31, Oct. 12, 1860.

ized the appointments of envoys to foreign governments. Pius VII, mindful of the assistance of Spain in restoring him to his dominions in 1814-1815, refused to receive Pablo Francisco Vasquez, whom Mexico had appointed to the Holy See. The situation was not improved under Leo XII.[7] Without representation at the papal court, Mexico found it helpful in some matters to use the diplomatic services of her northern neighbor. The secularization of the regulars was a case in point.[8] Petitions for secularization were made through Poinsett, the American minister at Mexico, who referred them to the Department of State, after which they were sent to the American consul at Rome and by him referred to the ecclesiastical authorities. After authorization by the latter, rescripts of secularization were returned through the same channels. The despatches of Cicognani mention many such enclosures.[9]

In December, 1820, the Rt. Rev. Henry Conwell arrived in Philadelphia to inherit a legacy of disorder in the diocese over which he had been placed as bishop. His presence in the pro-Cathedral the first Sunday morning was made the occasion of an attack upon the hierarchy by that notorious disturber of the peace—the Rev. William Hogan, author of the "schism" that bears his name. Dr. Conwell's episcopate was a virtual martyrdom, and his recall to Rome in 1827, together with his own impetuous action in returning to Philadelphia without announcement, form a dramatic if not tragic episode of this time. April 11, 1829, Cicognani reported that the bishop was still in Rome.

> He thinks the Propaganda will not permit him to return. Before the death of the late Pope it had been arranged for him to go to France or England. I am informed that the late administration, fearing that the scandal in Philadelphia might trouble public peace, directed the American minister of Paris to converse with the nuncio there.[10]

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[7] H. H. Bancroft, *Hist. of Mexico*, V, 46-47.

[8] M. de Pradt, *Concordat de l'Amérique avec Rome* (Paris, 1827), pp. 168, 238.

[9] Daniel Brent to Cicognani, July 18, Dec. 15, 1828, Mar. 26, 1829; Cicognani to Brent, Aug. 26, 1828, June 9, 1829.

[10] Despatch of Apr. 11, 1829; Jan. 1, 1829, Conwell wrote to President

Cicognani asked for instructions to meet the situation, but before these could be sent, Bishop Conwell was on his way to Paris.[11]

Cicognani also reported the presence in Rome of Bishop Portier, then of the vicariate of Alabama and Florida, and in the following year to become the first bishop of Mobile. According to this despatch, Portier obtained an allowance of $20,000 for the relief of his province.[12]

The first consul of American birth to represent the United States at Rome was George W. Greene of Rhode Island, who succeeded Cicognani by commission of January 9, 1837.[13] Greene's first despatch records the great pleasure of the Americans in Rome that "at last they have an American to look after their wants."[14]

But the rejoicings were soon stilled by complaints that the American was exacting a higher fee for his visé of passports than was charged by his colleagues at Naples and elsewhere, or had been asked by his Italian predecessors; he not only fixed his fee at four dollars, double the usual tax, but he also made the agent at Civita Vecchia pay him eighty per cent. of his receipts.[15] The consul did not think the grandson of Nathanael Greene should be

Jackson, congratulating him upon his election, and sending him miniatures of the pope and himself. Jackson's reply of Apr. 25 expressed the hope that nothing would occur in the selection of the successor at Rome to detain him long from his country. *National Intelligencer*, Jan. 30, 1830; *U. S. Telegraph*, Feb. 9, 1830.

[11] To Van Buren, May 8, 1829.

[12] Apr. 11, 1829.

[13] Index Files. Greene was in 1848 appointed professor of modern languages at Brown, and in 1872 was chosen professor of American history at Cornell. He published extensively in these fields. He died in East Greenwich, R. I., Feb. 2, 1883.

[14] Greene to Forsyth, Nov. 6, 1837.

[15] Protests of J. R. Giddings, representative in Congress, Feb. 18, 1840, and of Arthur Austin, Boston, July 29, 1840; Hamilton Fish to Buchanan, enclosing letter of A. G. Stout, New York, Mar. 28, 1845; Dr. Robert N. Gibbes, Columbia, S. C., to Buchanan, May 22, 1845. "Greene's ungentlemanly treatment of Americans", wrote Stout, "has become a common theme of conversation with travellers, so much so that they prefer to ask favors of the British consuls." See also letters of Feb. 20, June 16, July 24, 1840, on the subject of overcharging for passports.

permitted to be embarrassed by such complaints, especially since he was called upon to perform so many services without pay: hundreds of letters were written for permission to allow American visitors to enter St. Peter's cupola, the Gregorian Museum, the Sistine Chapel, and to witness the Holy Week services, not to mention the arrangements that were made for presentation of his countrymen to the Holy Father. To his defence, also, came Charles Sumner, George Ticknor, W. H. Prescott, Longfellow, and Professor Felton, later president of Harvard, all of whom resented the implication that Greene was dishonest. His predecessors, they advanced, were wealthy and could afford to discount their fees; Greene on the other hand was too poor a man to surrender any remuneration to which he was legally entitled. Consuls received no salary; their income depended upon commercial and notarial fees, which at this time averaged between three and four hundred dollars. Later, during the revolutionary disorders, the passport fee was lost, so that only a wealthy man could afford to accept the office.

The opposition continued. In August, 1842, Webster was petitioned to remove Greene for the following reasons: either through incapacity or negligence on the part of the consul, American artists were unable to obtain facilities for pursuing their studies, and were at times dependent upon the British consul for such privileges; he did not give proper attention to mail directed to his care; he imposed an unnecessary tax on each invoice of paintings shipped from Rome; he made presumptuous interference in the affairs of American citizens who died in Rome, thereby giving great annoyance to legal executors; and he was guilty of general uncivil treatment of artists and travellers.[16] Greene could not withstand his critics, who persisted in their charges, and on July 26, 1845, he yielded his office to Nicholas Browne of New York.

It was during Greene's stay at Rome that the settlement with Bishop Reze was effected. It will be remembered that the first Bishop of Detroit came to America, a Hanoverian priest, to assist

[16] The petition was signed by J. V. Clevenger of Cincinnati, William Cooper of Tennessee, Frederick Fink and Mrs. Forbes of New York, David H. Strother, Theodore M. V. Kennedy, and Frederick Parker of Virginia.

Bishop Fenwick in the diocese of Cincinnati. He resigned his see of Detroit in 1837, and was later called to Rome. On August 24, 1841, Greene wrote concerning this strange and, so far, unexplained episode:

> Reze called on me a few days after his arrival and from then up to last February or early March I have occasionally seen him. I was aware his reception at the Vatican was anything but favorable and that he was engaged in some disagreeable negotiation. In December those negotiations were brought to a close, and he signed a formal renunciation of his rights to church lands in his diocese. The papers were prepared through my agency by a member of the United States bar and signed in my presence, Bishop Rosati of St. Louis and Joseph A. Lutz, a Catholic missionary, serving as witnesses. Reze signed as Bishop of Detroit and surrendered the land to J. M. Odin as coadjutor of the diocese. By the same act he receives an annuity of $1000 payable semi-annually on Mar. 1 and Oct. 1, $800 of the first instalment to be paid in Rome, the remaining $200 at the Bank of France, Paris, where all subsequent payments are to be made. The first draft and all correspondence relative to these papers passed through the mediation of Bishop Rosati. In February or March Bishop Reze called on me for a copy of the deed, and shortly afterwards brought his passport for signature. His intention is to pass a few weeks at the Convent of the Casino, thence to go to Naples and to the Holy Land. It seems instead of using the United States passport which I had countersigned, he left with a Hanoverian passport, dated Apr. 6, 1838, and countersigned by the Hanoverian minister, the police, and Neapolitan minister, Mar. 13, 1841. In this passport he was styled missionary. In that which I signed he gave no title, and he told me that he suppressed it from the desire to avoid the inconvenience which it frequently occasioned in traveling.[17]

Browne was a man of means who, according to his vice consul, cared little for the duties of his position and was seldom at his

[17] See Richard R. Elliott, in *Collections* of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, XXVI, 271. Two letters among the instructions to Greene concern statuary for the Capitol at Washington. Apr. 4, 1837, Forsyth referred to the agreement entered into with Luigi Persico under authority of the act of Congress of Mar. 3, by the terms of which the sum of $8000 was appropriated for two groups of statues for the east front of the Capitol. The progress of the work, which was to be executed in Italy, was to be regularly inspected by the American consul. Oct. 22, 1838, Greene was advised of a contract with Horatio Greenough for a group for the same location.

post.[18] He returned, however, in time to take charge of the American legation after the death of Jacob L. Martin, first American chargé. He saw the Republican Revolution of 1848, and rejoiced in the change of government. Shortly after, some French soldiers entered his residence, frightened his family by the drawing of swords, and carried off two Italians who had taken refuge on the roof. It appeared in the course of the investigation which followed, that two of Browne's servants had that day repeatedly insulted the soldiers while passing, and that an individual in the crowd that had gathered in front of the consul's house had drawn a poniard upon the guard. The patrol, not knowing the character of the house until they were retiring, entered and made the guilty ones prisoners. Complete apology was made to the consul, and the prisoners were released.[19]

Browne's very outspoken sympathies with the short-lived republic made it plain that his usefulness as consul was at an end. On May 29, 1849, he was succeeded by William Carroll Sanders of Mobile.[20] Three years later Sanders resigned, leaving his office in charge of his brother John, who remained until September, 1856, when Daniel LeRoy of New York was appointed consul. The latter resigned in the following May, because of illness in his family, and the post was next offered to Robert B. Bradford of the same place, who declined the appointment. The commission was then given to Horatio de V. Glentworth, also of New York, who served until February 5, 1861.[21]

During the course of a band concert on the Piazza Colonna, March 19, 1860, some persons began to hiss the Roman soldiers, whereupon an order was given by the French commander to clear the square. The soldiers continued to drive the people up the

[18] J. B. Clark to Buchanan, Jan. 28, July 17, 1847; Ardisson to same, Oct. 18, 1847.

[19] Cass to Clayton, July 8, 1849.

[20] Index Files; Sanders to Clayton, June 18, 1849. In his first despatch the consul mentions the fact that he at one time had been a student in Rome. *Ibid.*, Nov. 24, 1849.

[21] Index Files; LeRoy to Secretary of State, Sept. 18, 1856, May 6, 1857; Bradford to same, Aug. 17, 1858; Glentworth to same, Sept. 1, 1858, Feb. 5, 1861.

street in which the American consulate was situated. It happened that Glentworth was just then passing from his door to a carriage. Unknown, of course, to the guards, he was assaulted and menaced until a French officer interposed. A short distance above the consulate, two Americans were also abused, one of them being cut on the brow. These acts were at once disavowed by the government and full apology made. Since among the wounded were two French officers in citizen dress and a relative of the French commander, Stockton, then minister, believed that there had been no intent to injure the Americans, and felt, after so prompt and full disclaimer on the part of the papal authorities, that a pecuniary demand would be taking low ground and would put the United States in the position of demanding a few dollars for the healing of national honor.[22]

In August, 1861, William Dean Howells of Columbus, accepted an appointment to Rome, but he did not serve, as in the following month he was transferred to Venice.[23] The acceptance of the position by W. J. Stillman, his successor, was written from Saranac Lake, where the consul-elect was engaged in raising a company of riflemen for service in the Civil War.[24] Stillman served well his country from 1861 to 1865, and accomplished much in thwarting the activities of Southern agents who, through the use of fraudulent passports and other means, sought to aid the cause of the Confederacy.

An incident occurred early in 1862 which this consul attempted to exaggerate beyond its real importance. Two young Americans, Carter and Milliken, failed to remove their hats as the Blessed Sacrament, carried in procession, passed by. A priest in line spoke to them of the disrespect, but they remained covered, whereupon the priest "struck their hats from their heads". Carter replaced his, holding it firmly with his hand. The youths went out

[22] Stockton to Cass, Mar. 22, Apr. 16, 1860; Cass to Stockton, Apr. 27, 1860.

[23] Index Files; Howell's despatch of Aug. 25, 1861.

[24] Index Files; despatch of Sept. 29, 1861. Stillman was born in Schenectady, June, 1828, and made his studies at Union College. Before his appointment he was editor of *Crayon* and correspondent of the London *Times*. After leaving Rome he filled a similar post at Crete, until 1869. He lived his later years in London.

of their way to meet the procession at another point, where the same scene was repeated. Here, it was claimed, one of the papal guards pushed Carter some distance, then struck him with the butt of his musket. Stillman addressed the police authorities to ask if this action was justified, and to inquire if the marks of respect paid by Catholics on such occasions were exacted of Protestant strangers. The Americans left Rome before a reply was received; but the consul again took up the matter with the authorities. The Cardinal Vicar replied that "it doubtless was the duty of all educated persons, even if of different faith, to respect the practices of the religion prevailing where they live, and much less to make a demonstration of contempt." Stillman was not satisfied; he insisted that the disrespect was not intentional, and that the main question remained unanswered. In reply he was reminded that "according to the laws of all civilized states foreigners, of whatever faith, are obliged to respect the religious observances of the state, and contravention of them was punishable by common legal process either by means of the ecclesiastical police or according as the case might be." The incident was here dropped.[25]

After the assassination of President Lincoln a meeting was held in Rome, as elsewhere, when appropriate resolutions were passed and transmitted to Washington. The National Roman Committee sent, in addition, a fragment of stone from the agger of Servius Tullius, upon which was inscribed:

ABRAHAMO LINCOLNIO
REGION. FOEDERAT. AMERIC. PRAESIDI
HUNC EX SERVIJ TULLIJ AGGIRE LAPIDEM
QUO UTRIUSQUE
LIBERTATIS ADSERVATORIS FORTISS.
MEMORIA CONJUGATUR
CIVES ROMANI
D.
A. MDCCCLXV.[26]

[25] Despatches of Mar. 6, 24, 1862. [26] Despatch of June 20, 1865.

On February 6, 1865, Edwin C. Cushman of Boston was appointed to succeed Stillman.[27] Gen. Rufus King, the last American minister to the Papal States, left Rome in the closing days of 1867; Cushman was thereafter in charge of the legation. He witnessed the final movement that led to the unification of Italy, the details of which are minutely given in his despatches.

The last consul to represent the United States in the papal dominions was David M. Armstrong of New York, who was commissioned on April 16, 1869.[28] He arrived in time to see the fall of Rome and the end of the States of the Church. He remained as America's first consul to the kingdom of united Italy.

So much for the men who held the consular office at Rome during this period. The incidents here mentioned, however interesting, were for the most part unrelated and personal. Some reference should be made to a few topics not confined to any single régime.

First of all, our consuls were primarily in Italy to encourage commerce with the United States. There were consuls and consular agents also, for varying periods, in Ancona, Civita Vecchia, Ceprano, Comacchio, Fiumacino, Ostia, Porto d'Anzio and Ravenna. With the exception of those at Ancona and Ravenna, these officers were generally natives, the fees being too small to attract Americans.

Trade with the States of the Church never reached large proportions. The semi-annual returns of the consuls give lists of the American visitors to Rome and of the American vessels touching the papal ports. The former was usually large, the latter almost always negative. "In a country like this, governed by clergy",

[27] Index Files; Cushman's despatch of Feb. 18, 1865. Cushman was born in New York State, but was taken as an infant to Boston, where he was cared for by his aunt, Charlotte Cushman, whose friendship with Seward brought about his appointment. He died in Rome in 1905, and is there buried. I am indebted to the consul's son, Dr. Allerton S. Cushman, for this and other information respecting his father.

[28] Index Files; despatches of Apr. 30, May 22, 1869. Armstrong, an artist, was a native of Newburg. After graduating from Trinity College, Connecticut, he studied law, but later turned to art. He was director of the American art department of the Paris Exposition of 1878.

wrote Cicognani, "scarcely anything happens concerning politics or commerce." [29]

In 1825 the Roman government published a law establishing a system of reciprocity in the payment of duties on vessels. As the papal flag was seldom seen in the ports of the United States, the American consul showed the advantage that would accrue to American shipping if the rates on the papal vessels should be reduced. Later, the papal authorities very willingly entered into an agreement whereby the payment of duties on vessels from either country was abolished.[30] But in spite of the new arrangements, American vessels were seldom seen. There were few wealthy merchants in Rome; the system of government monopolies was another handicap. Pius IX abolished many of these monopolies, but the political confusion of the succeedings years, both in Italy and the United States, further postponed the opportunity of establishing profitable trade relations.

Stillman, writing in 1862, stated that the annual imports of the Roman ports included 4,000,000 pounds of tobacco, 75,000 feet of pine timber at an average price of twenty-eight cents a cubic foot, fifteen cargoes of salt-fish from Newfoundland, English coal, coffee and sugar from the French colonies; and from America, between eight and nine hundred barrels of alcohol, considerable rum, fifty or sixty barrels of lard, and a small quantity of cheese. Two years later he reported increased importation of petroleum, candles, and parafin from the United States, though exports to America had decreased because of the new tariff act and the high rate of exchange. The exports were hides, wool, oak timber, wheat and maize, rags, mosaics, pictures, and statuary. The consul thought it would not be difficult to introduce wooden ware, pine, and agricultural implements. There was also a promising market for ice, since Rome then depended for its refrigeration upon the snow from the mountains, packed for summer use. At the suggestion of Stillman, a company was organized in Rome which offered to furnish the monopolist with American ice, to be

[29] To J. Q. Adams, Dec. 31, 1824.

[30] Cicognani to Clay, July 15, Aug. 29, 1826; Mar. 17, Sept. 29, 1827.

delivered at the same price that was being paid for snow in pits on the hills. But the proposal was refused, as was the company's offer of $5000 a year for the monopoly. Stillman further suggested that excellent Italian wines, little known in America, could be bought for seven and ten cents a bottle; and that the cheapness of fruits made feasible their exportation in cans. He personally made the experiment of sending to the United States wines which cost him thirty to sixty cents a gallon.[31]

The American consular representatives saw the election of three popes—Pius VIII, Gregory XVI, and Pius IX. Writing of the first event, Cicognani commented:

> It is said his election is greatly attributed to the influence of the Emperor of Austria. A strong argument for its belief is the choice of Cardinal Albani as Secretary of State, he being entrusted in the conclave with the veto of the Emperor. The pope is expected to be partial to Austria. The recent pope favored France. . . . He is generally thought to be a good-hearted man and of mild temper, though it is anticipated that he will be rather strict in maintaining the discipline of the Church. . . . His election is acceptable to the people of Rome. It is not thought he will live long.[32]

On May 7, the American consul had his first audience with the newly chosen pontiff. On this occasion Pius, "particularly and repeatedly", asked the consul to assure his government that he would never interfere in the politics of the nation.[33] Secretary Van Buren reciprocated the sentiments of the Holy Father, who was to be assured that the Roman Catholic citizens of the United States enjoyed entire exemption from coercion in the matter of religion; and that there was a perfect unity of faith "amongst religionists of all professions, as to the wisdom and policy of that cardinal feature of all our constitutions and frames of government, both those of the United States and the separate States of the Union, by which this inestimable right is formally recognized and the enjoyment of it inviolably secured." [34]

After a short reign of twenty months, Pius was dead. He was

[31] Despatches of Stillman, Mar. 31, Sept. 30, 1862; Sept. 30, 1864.
[32] Despatch of Apr. 11, 1829.
[33] *Ibid.*, May 8, 1829.
[34] Van Buren to Cicognani, July 20, 1829.

succeeded in February, 1831, by Gregory XVI. Reporting this election, Cicognani wrote:

> It is reported the conclave was very turbulent. Cardinal Giustiniani was nearly elected, but the King of Spain gave his veto, having lost favor with the king because of his advice to Leo XII to appoint bishops to the Republic of Colombia.[35]

The choice of Pius IX in 1846 was a very popular one. The consular despatches detail with much enthusiasm the liberal character of the reforms of this pontiff—his release of political prisoners, the greater freedom granted to the press, the creation of a national guard, the granting of a constitution, the material improvements to roads and railroads, the placing of a box at the Vatican to receive complaints, etc. "The feelings of joy and love these have caused throughout Italy", reads one despatch, "are wonderful in the extreme." Another states that the "people all love and are loyal to Pius IX." Even Browne, who said as little as possible in favor of the Church and its rulers, admitted that "many long years have elapsed since the Chair of Peter was filled by a pontiff as amiable and worthy as Pius IX."[36] When a council of state was formed, every American in Rome met at the consulate to attend the installation of the deputies. It was planned to secure a national flag and to proceed in a body, each to carry a branch of laurel.[37]

This popular rejoicing in the election of Pope Pius found expression in a demonstration held in Broadway Tabernacle, New York, at which the following resolution was adopted and ordered to be sent to the Secretary of State for transmission to Rome:

> Resolved, That an address to His Holiness, Pius IX . . . . on behalf of this meeting, together with such other portion of the proceedings as may be necessary to convey the sentiments with which we regard the enlightened and liberal policy of the Sovereign Pontiff, be forwarded to Rome and

[35] Cicognani to Van Buren, Feb. 5, 1831.

[36] Despatches of Browne, Nov. 1, 1846, Feb. 1, 1849; J. B. Clark, July 17, 1847; Ardisson, Aug. 8, 1847; Hooker, Aug. 20, 1847.

[37] From Ardisson, Nov. 17, 1847.

presented to Pius IX in such manner as shall be deemed proper by the committee of arrangements.[38]

In appreciation of the sympathy shown by Americans to the Holy Father, copies of Raphael's paintings and a collection of medals coined during his pontificate were sent as a gift to the United States.[39]

The political changes in the States of the Church were not unobserved by the consuls at Rome. Cushman and Armstrong were especially alert to what was transpiring, and their despatches contribute much to our knowledge of those events.[40]

In 1793 the Papal States joined England's coalition against France. Three years later, Napoleon, by uniting Modena to the papal provinces of Bologna and Ferrara, created his Cispadane Republic. Here was born the idea of a free Italy. By the peace of Tolentino in 1797, these two provinces, together with the Romagna, were ceded by the papacy. Further intervention by the French in the affairs of the Papal States in the following year resulted in the establishment of a Roman Republic, February 15, 1798. Secretary Pickering in an instruction to Sartori, March 28, 1799, said in regard to the new republic that the United States,

> sincerely respecting the rights of self-government of all other nations .... do not interfere in their internal arrangements. The consuls of the United States, then, wherever they are, will consider it to be their duty to respect the "powers that be", and, under every change of government, use their endeavor to protect the persons and property of American citizens.

In a subsequent instruction of June 11, 1799, in reply to a question of the consul whether the United States would recognize the Roman Republic, Pickering wrote:

[38] James H. Titus and James W. White, committee, to Buchanan, Dec. 2, 1847; Buchanan, in reply, Dec. 10. The resolution was presented to the pope by the consul.

[39] Ardisson, Apr. 3, 1848.

[40] Although an account of the attitude of the United States toward these changes can not satisfactorily be given without joint consideration of all despatches and instructions to and from its representatives of every rank, the story of the part played by the American ministers, elsewhere discussed (see note 1, *supra*), will not here be repeated.

In my former letter I expressed a wish "that the Roman Republic was a self-governed state". You know that it is not. Formally to acknowledge it then, would only be to acknowledge the supreme power of the *French general commanding in Italy.*[41]

The temporal power of the popes was restored by the treaties of Vienna and remained unshaken for more than thirty years, although during the pontificate of Gregory XVI there were uprisings, in 1831-1832, which brought the Austrian troops to the support of the pope. The principle of "non-interference" laid down by France as a condition of European peace, having been broken, the latter sent a force to Ancona. In time the Austrians withdrew and France yielded that citadel to the Holy See. Cicognani, then American consul, thought the pope would go to Spain in the event of a change of government.[42]

The kindly disposition and liberal reforms of Pius IX seemed to promise peace and contentment. But in 1848 the liberal movements throughout Europe again caused widespread revolution. Troops from Tuscany, Sardinia, Naples, and the Papal States joined to emancipate Italy from Austrian domination. In Rome arose the cry, "Italia, one country, one ruler, and that Pius IX."[43] Pius was determined "to lose even the cupola of St. Peter's rather than draw back".[44] Later he became distrustful of Mazzini's "Young Italy" party and repudiated the war; but the latter determined upon a free Italy with or without the pope. On November 15, Rossi, the premier, was stabbed to death as he mounted the steps to open the assembly, and the following day a howling mob besieged the Quirinal, determined to massacre the Swiss guards who were especially hated by the patriots. On November 25, the pope fled to Gaeta under the protection of the King of Naples.[45]

Nicholas Browne, the consul, who was in charge of the Ameri-

[41] Instructions to Ministers, V, 88, 152.
[42] Despatch of Feb. 21, 1831.
[43] Hooker to Buchanan, Aug. 20, 1847.
[44] From Ardisson, Sept. 8, 1847.
[45] J. E. Freeman, consul at Ancona, despatch of Nov. 26, 1848; Browne, Dec. 12, 1848.

can legation when Mazzini's republic was proclaimed, lost little time in expressing his "warmest congratulations" to the new government. "So deeply rooted in every American heart", he wrote, "is the love of liberty, that the nation will at once hail with joy the Independence of the Roman Republic long before their diplomatic agents can have time, in due official form, to give expression to the generous sentiments of their constituency."[46] He was firm in his belief that his government would take the earliest opportunity "to recognize that of Rome in the most satisfactory manner". It was his opinion that the pope had absconded because he repented of the concessions he had made. His flight, he was convinced, had been advised by the Jesuits of the court of Austria, and was designed to bring discredit upon the Italian movement among the Catholics of Europe. In his official uniform, Browne joined in the procession of the constituent assembly. He continued to hope for recognition, for, in his words, "the papacy is fallen, morally fallen, forever". He served notice to his government that if recognition was not extended, this omission could "not be laid to his charge".[47]

In the meantime Lewis Cass had arrived to assume charge of his ministry, and both he and the Secretary of State were convinced that the new republic could not maintain itself.[48] On April 12, 1850, after an absence of seventeen months, Pius returned to Rome with shaken faith in his liberal patriotism. Thereafter he refused to come to terms with the new order of things.

When Cushman arrived in 1865, the final movement for the unification of Italy was well under way. In the fall of 1867, Garibaldi was within fifteen miles of Rome. So interested was Cushman in the situation that, in order to gain reliable information, he accompanied the pontifical troops for four days and witnessed the battle which resulted in the capture of Garibaldi's garrison at Nerola.[49]

[46] To the President of the Council of Ministers, Feb. 11, 1849.

[47] Browne to Rusconi, foreign minister, Feb. 21, 1849; same to Secretary of State, Dec. 12, 1848, Feb. 12, 23, Mar. 7, 27, Apr. 30, May 19, 1849.

[48] See this *Review*, n. s., III, 108.

[49] Despatch of Nov. 15, 1867.

Complaints of a double nature followed. It was said that the ordinary duties of the consulate were neglected for political interests. More serious were the charges made by Richard Rothwell, an English artist, that the American consul, armed with his rifle, had joined the papal troops, and had participated in the fighting. Cushman, designating his accuser as "an old man of eccentric habits and very little reputation as an artist", insisted that he had accompanied the troops simply as a spectator. During the fight at Nerola he unexpectedly found himself under fire. Seeing an officer fall, the consul endeavored to render some assistance and was himself slightly wounded. Finding himself a target, he picked up a gun for his own protection. Cushman's explanation, while it modified the exaggeration of the complaint in the eyes of his government, did not save him from official reprimand for his participation in the affair. Later evidence sent by him seems to have satisfied the Secretary of State in the matter of his attention to business.[50]

During this period, when the French protection had been withdrawn and the Holy Father was dependent upon his newly recruited army for the safety of his position, Cushman received several communications from Catholic citizens of the United States requesting permission to enlist in the papal army. Some companies for this service had been organized in Canada. One such request came from Charles B. Gillespie of Freeport, Pa., who said he had been an officer during the Civil War, and could easily raise a company of seasoned soldiers. The consul was advised that by act of Congress the enlistment of citizens for services in foreign countries was forbidden.[51]

Armstrong, the last of the American consuls to the Papal States, was in Rome little more than a year when he witnessed the fall of the temporal power, September 20, 1870. He gives a graphic account of the end.

[50] Cushman's despatches of Nov. 15, 16, Dec. 18, 1867, May 20, 1868; Rothwell to Seward, Nov. 2, 1867; F. W. Seward to Cushman, Jan. 21, May 5, June 25, 1868; Joseph J. Lewis, Naples, to Secretary of State, Jan. 30, 1868.

[51] Act of Apr. 20, 1818 (*U. S. Statutes at Large*, III, 448, sec. 2); Cushman's despatch of Apr. 20, 1868; F. W. Seward to Cushman, May 12, 1868.

. . . . The pope was firm, cheerful and hopeful, holding special services in St. Peter's, visiting monasteries and nunneries, and telling the inmates that the Italians would never enter Rome. . . . Only once did he give way. Last Saturday during service at Ara Coeli he burst into tears and all present wept with him. On the eve of September 19 he visited Porta San Giovanni and blessed the barricades and the Squadriglieri soldiers defending them.

During the attack on the final day, a bullet passed through the upper window of the consulate. At last a breach was made in the walls near Porta Pia, and a white flag was seen flying from the dome of St. Peter's to announce the surrender of the Eternal City.[52]

The loyalty of the papal government to the cause of the Union during the Civil War has elsewhere been discussed.[53] The despatches of the consuls add little to that account. In September, 1862, the Cardinal Secretary of State said to Stillman:

There is but one course for your government to pursue—to carry on the war to its utmost ability. . . . It could only act as it had acted; you can only treat with the South on submission. It is a pity, but there is no other consistent or possible course.[54]

And in 1865, when the agent at Civita Vecchia inquired of the papal delegate of the province how the Confederate vessels would be treated, the latter replied that "no other flag but that of the United States would be acknowledged."[55]

The diplomatic relations between the United States and the Papal States were maintained for nearly three-quarters of a century in a spirit of mutual friendship and respect. Eleven consuls represented the Papal States in the United States during the closing years of the former's existence, with entire absence of friction. The consuls sent by the United States to look after its interests were men of ability and tolerance. Nicholas Browne alone

[52] Despatch of Sept. 23, 1870, printed in the *Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1928, pp. 30 *et seq.*

[53] See this *Review*, n. s., III, 116-121.

[54] Despatch of Sept. 16, 1862.

[55] Marsanick to Mgr. Lorenzo Randi, July 8, 1865; Randi to Marsanick, July 16, 1865.

seems to have lacked proper restraint at a critical period. The popes, too, never failed to show their desire to improve the friendly relations between the two governments. Unusual privileges and favors were granted to the American consuls. During the Garibaldian movement against Rome, Giulio Posi, a United States citizen of Charleston, was arrested for conspiring against the papal government. He was found guilty not only of conspiracy, but also of being an active member of a committee of the revolutionary party. But through the intercession of the American consul, he was allowed to leave Rome. "In all interviews here", wrote Cushman, "I have been received with the greatest courtesy, and I feel sure that under no other circumstance than Posi's United States citizenship would he have been treated so leniently." [56]

American consuls were permitted to present their countrymen to the Holy Father, a privilege which belonged only to the higher members of the diplomatic corps, and one which was not granted in Rome to any other of consular rank. In fact, the American consular representatives were received on the same footing at all festivals and formal affairs as full diplomatic functionaries of other nations.[57]

LEO FRANCIS STOCK.

[56] Oct. 22, 1867.

[57] Cicognani, Mar. 10, 1830, Apr. 1, 1834; Greene, Feb. 20, 1838; Browne, Apr. 24, 1847.

POINTS OF VIEW IN THE TEACHING OF HISTORY[1]

It has been the privilege of the writer of this paper to discourse in this place on a former occasion on his view as to the position which Church History should hold among the other branches of higher Ecclesiastical Study. He cannot pretend to think that he treated at all adequately, so large a subject, in one short paper. But, at the same time he shrinks from the attempt to supplement now what he said then on the general question. Consequently, this is only an endeavour to suggest certain particular points of view, some of which can scarcely fail to come to the front in the mind of a Catholic teacher of history; and if they do not, certainly ought to, if he is to make his teaching as powerful as it can be in the interests of truth and mental development.

It cannot be doubted that the foundation of all history is the faithful record of the facts as to the doings of mankind in the past. Yet, the inquiring intelligence of students is never satisfied with that alone. It must compare, and arrange, and criticise, and draw conclusions, and try to generalise from the individual facts to a law, or a general truth, or to draw a practical lesson from what the deeds of the past faithfully narrated lay before it. The misery is, from an historical point of view, when the law or the truth or axiom is laid down first, and then the facts, or at least a selected number of them, are made to square with the preconceived theory. This is really not history at all, and it is only too common to find in popular works on historical subjects a deplorable manipulation of fact all directed to the propagation of some view or so-called principle already settled in the mind of the writer before he has attempted any impartial investigation of what the actual facts are, upon which he ought to base his conclusions. This is not

[1] Read at the Conference of Higher Studies in St. Edmund's House, Cambridge, England, April 4, 1929. The paper referred to is *The Place of Church History in Higher Catholic Studies*, read at the Conference of 1920.

seldom the manner of proceeding of the literary artist, of the apologist, and of the partisan.

Yet, notwithstanding this danger always threatening, the mind of the student of history will be almost compelled to search for some unifying principle, not necessarily of a moral character, which may run through the whole subject and thus impart order and method to the well-nigh innumerable details. And this force will become all the stronger when he has to impart the results of his study to others as a teacher.

If we turn over in our mind some of the more celebrated theories for securing unity in history, we shall hardly be inclined to think that they have met with unqualified success. Take for instance the unlimited application of the theory of evolution to human history: how many are the limitations, the retrograde movements, the contradictory facts that have to be allowed for, before we can settle down to accept the modicum of truth which is all that is really valuable. If we call it the history of civilization we are not much better off; we have to record many a set-back, many a deterioration, a very large quota of loss in running expenses before we can say the history of mankind is one of gradual progress towards civilization.

Or, again, if we subordinate the political and the religious aspects of history to social and economic factors, as is so often the fashion now-a-days, what huge deductions have to be made, what superior and, therefore, disturbing causes have to be allowed for, before we can unify history in this way. In fact, the discredit into which the older political economy has now fallen shows how rash it is to take one point of view in dealing with human action and try to construct therefrom a science as if it were absolute, whereas it is only valid within very strict limits and *sub conditione* that more important points of view do not override it. Hence, all such generalisations must be firmly rejected. The historian should to some extent generalise and theorise, but let him do so only with the greatest caution and be mindful of the limits set both by the facts first and then also by other points of view just as worthy of note as his own.

Nevertheless, we are inclined to maintain that the Catholic

teacher of history has advantages in a similar search for unifying principles, which owing to the religious differences in England, others are deprived of. He has a key to unlock the problem, which will hardly yield to more violent or more partial attempts to force an entry.

It is scarcely necessary to say that it is the permanence and universal sway of the Holy See of Rome which forms the centre of Church history for the ecclesiastical historian. However much the imperfect records of early ages may leave the exact state of things in obscurity, the centre is undeniably there from the very beginning of Christianity; and as the centuries have rolled on, what is already seen as a nucleus, in the few but precious authentic documents of the first Christian ages, grows and develops, not indeed uniformly, but none the less surely with the passage of time, until in our own days it is there to illuminate our path like a Pharos of the world. In fact, we have just witnessed an historical change in the recent treaty between the Sovereign Pontiff and Italy, which, though involving the sacrifice of righteous claims and the breaking of many traditions, can hardly fail to bring into a clearer light the unique position of the popes, as reigning indeed with a spiritual dominion, and yet standing forth a supreme centre of authority, of moral influence, of fatherly union, admitted on all sides by men of good will to have no equal and no rival.

Moreover, as the ages advance and materials become more abundant, we feel another circumstance which is no mean advantage, at least from a practical standpoint, namely, that the charm of biography is added to the more abstract study of impersonal history. In this way the memory is aided, and our presentment of things gains in interest. The history of the Church is not, of course, the same thing as the lives of the popes. And yet it would be difficult to indicate any department of it wherein the doings and sayings of these supreme rulers do not count for very much indeed.

By a most fortunate coincidence there has never been a moment when the teacher of history has had at his disposal so many standard works on the papacy and the lives of the popes, now extending with but little interruption from early into modern days. Conse-

quently, he is now able to develop this central part of his subject equipped with a wealth of material which was wanting to his predecessors even so recently as some twenty or thirty years ago.

For example, when he is dealing with the popes of the first ages of the Church he will not willingly let Duchesne's edition of the *Liber Pontificalis* far out of his sight. It offers a union of the ancient documents and of modern research rarely found together. Not but that the brilliant Frenchman has sometimes hazarded theories or brushed aside traditions perhaps all too lightly. Yet, take it all in all, the teacher of the history of the popes can to-day hardly conceive it possible to deal with the papacy in the early ages deprived of Duchesne's invaluable researches. Nor could he afford to part with the scholarly volumes of Monsignor Barnes, nor the works of Batiffol, of Tixeront, of Dom Chapman and of others, who have dealt with the Roman See in these early times.

Again, to exemplify the same view when we come to the epoch of the decay of Rome and the coming of the barbarians, the student has now ready to his hand the stately volumes of Father Grisar in his *Rome and the Popes in the Middle Ages.* It is true that the author has not so manifestly, as some others have done, made the popes the centre of his picture, but their influence and unifying force appear, to those who think, scarcely diminished, and from the very fact that no effort is made to accentuate their position, it becomes equally convincing how good that position really was in those darksome times.

With St. Gregory begins the patient and far-reaching work of the late Msgr. Mann. Commenced in the plainest and simplest fashion by the author, the book grew in importance, in interest and in range as he proceeded with his task. It is true that through the death of the lamented writer this extensive work is not continued, as he intended, to the end of the Middle Ages, leaving untouched all that period which has been named by some the Decline of the Middle Ages. This is all the more to be regretted since this portion of his history, including both the days of the Captivity at Avignon and those of the Great Schism, can hardly be studied in English to the same advantage as either the preceding or the subsequent epoch. Hence the great need of a first-

class English work, on lines not unequal and with historical development not too inferior, to lay bare the story of those far-off days. Something has been done, but by no means enough.

It is true that von Pastor, whose recent death students of history are lamenting, so soon after that of Monsignor Mann, gives a short sketch of those evil days as an introduction to his own colossal work. Yet it can scarcely be said that his work on original and detailed lines begins earlier than the close of the Schism with the accession of Martin V. After that we have a storehouse of authentic material and of documents illustrating the lives of the popes, far beyond anything hitherto available. Here again, though we hear with great comfort that Pastor has left behind him materials for the completion of his work, it can hardly be true that this extends as far as he originally intended to carry on the investigation. He devoted his life to the enterprise, and laboured on it perseveringly for more than forty years, but the scale and the elaborate development grew in his hands. It is rather curious to read in his preface written in 1885 that he expected to complete his undertaking in six volumes (which would be twelve in the English translation) and that he purposed including the epoch of the Modern Revolution in his plan. When the materials he left have been put into order, there will be eleven or twelve volumes in the German, or twenty-two or twenty-four in the English edition; and we can hardly hope to get beyond the reign of Urban VIII and the Peace of Westphalia. Hence, the pontificates of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and later must still await their Pastor, however interesting and momentous they may be. Moreover, even if the historical acumen and industry were at hand, wielded even by a first-class genius, it may be perhaps doubted whether the secret archives of these reigns have been arranged, collected, and laid open, with anything like the completeness attained for more distant ages. But, at any rate, let us be thankful for what we have received.

So much, then, for the papacy as our pivot — our centre of gravity, our illuminating beacon, our binding force for such wide and complicated studies.

But it is now time to introduce another consideration, in no

way contradicting what has been said, but yet providing a balancing point of view when we contemplate our subject as a whole. For, though we never lose sight of the pope as bishop, metropolitan, primate, patriarch of the west, we must guard against any narrow or exclusive identification of the Vicar of Christ with any headship of one race alone or one rite alone. The universal Church is wider than the Latin on any other rite, and a Christian may be just as good a Catholic as the most Roman of Romans, who has never said a Latin prayer or paid a moment's attention to the *Codex Juris Canonici*. Allowing for the due precedence of the rite used personally by the Vicar of Christ, all rites are on a level, and a difference in them does not affect a Christian's position as a member of the one universal Church.

In practice, the overwhelming superiority, both numerical and material, of the Latin Church, as well as the unfortunate fact that so large a proportion of the members of the various oriental rites is in heresy or schism, gives a striking example in perspective. It may be some excuse for a one-sided or at least incomplete view of Catholicism as a whole.

But it is by no means essential that the oriental rites should be in schism, and of course there are Uniates whose number runs into millions. The success of a reconciliation with any large body of Eastern schismatics would redress the balance to some extent; and the conversion of Russia to unity with Rome would lead to quite a new departure, and would on the practical side be a mighty demonstration of that variety of rites in unity of Faith, which all hold to exist in theory, but which is obscured by the relatively small scale on which the non-Latin parts of the Church are *de facto* in existence.

It is not the Holy See which has ever limited its outlook to Latin Christianity; it is the narrower grasp of so many of its children, unable to take in the whole field of the Church, confusing the essential with the accidental, and wedded to ways and customs, venerable indeed, and perhaps more excellent than the opposite, but by no means a requirement for full participation in the unity of Christendom, which is in fault. As it has been in the past so it is now. Enthusiastic adherents of the Latin Church

have striven to urge along an alien path oriental Christians, ready to admit as their forefathers did the primacy of Rome in matters of Faith, but yet devotedly attached to their own rites and their own ways, which when all is said and done are perfectly compatible with membership in the Catholic Church.

Another department of Church history which is sometimes allowed to fall somewhat into the background is that of the apostolic missions to the infidel. And yet this is after all the primary commission given to the pastors of the Kingdom—on its prosecution depends the evangelisation of the world. Hence the divinity of the Catholic religion will always be tested in great part by its fidelity to this commission. In fact, there can be no misgiving in facing this test. There is on the part of the teaching Church in general, and on the part of the Holy See beyond all others, a constant anxiety to spread the Faith at all costs ever more and more widely. There is an inflexible determination not equalled elsewhere to penetrate into the most remote corners of the earth, there to plant the Cross and gain these far-distant outposts as part of the empire of Jesus Christ. It is likewise an attestation of the reality of that divine commission that these efforts have not been in vain. Even when material means seem quite inadequate to the work to be done, the standard of the Faith has gone forward, forming, as has been pointed out again and again, a sharp contrast to the missionary enterprises of other denominations, so often rich in money and other worldly aids but not sent forth with the same credentials and not emanating from the true centre.

There seems some reason to think that this—the primary sphere of the Church's work—does not always receive the full attention it deserves at the hands of the professor of history, even when he is instructing a class of Catholic students. It must be certain that if we look to edification and the persuasive force of example, we shall not be able to find these things better exhibited before us than in the records of these heroic apostles, bishops, priests, nuns, catechists, who with so much self-sacrifice carry forward to the outposts of the Kingdom the ensign of the Faith. Here there is no question of appraising the share given to religion by millions of merely nominal followers of our Divine Leader. Here there

is no question, either, of combining wealth and position with spiritual works for Catholicism. Estimating the quite secondary place which temporal resources hold in this field of the Church's activity, we have in it a noble corrective towards realising how overwhelmingly spiritual and supernatural is the real work of Christianity in the world. Others may civilise or heal or nurse or educate; the Catholic missionary leaves all he has only to sanctify and to save.

To take a standpoint which is even higher, when the teacher of history looks to the practical side of the office entrusted to him in a college or seminary, he ought to be alive to the opportunities which his subject gives him of impressing on his pupils, who will very likely be the junior clergy soon to be called to work among the faithful, another aspect of the supernatural side of things. Of course, it is not meant here to advocate any emphasis on the miraculous or even of the devotional life in the Church. What we mean is being alive to the evidences to be found of the influence of men and women of outstanding holiness on the fortunes and development of the Church. This influence is not always on the surface; but is none the less real. But not being upmost and most advertised, it may sometimes fail to gain the attention which it merits. Sometimes less stress is laid upon the work of a saint, deeply concerned in ecclesiastical affairs, than is devoted to the evil influence of some unworthy pastor or leader of men in high office. It is quite possible to dwell at disproportionate length upon the scandal caused by some worldly or evil living prelate, and almost pass over the mighty power for good exercised, not only in general, but in detail, by such men as St. Pius, St. Gregory, or St. Charles. By all means tell the truth about the unworthy and the sinful, but let us keep some sense of proportion and pay honour where honour is due to those who have done for the people of God more than the unfaithful stewards have done to harm them.

The fact would seem to be that a succession of leaders in the Church could be traced out, whose work has been not so much on the surface as profound and even decisive—men not less remarkable for their holiness than for their genius and practical ability, not always in the highest stations, but enabled to act upon the

affairs of the Church with compelling force. Thus we may pass on from St. Ambrose to St. Augustine, from Herluin through Lanfranc to St. Anselm, from Cardinal Bérulle to St. Vincent de Paul, and then on to M. Olier and his disciples in the French Church. It may indeed be maintained that many of these cases are so patent that they do not need insisting upon, as for instance the case of St. Charles and his uncle Pius IV, that of St. Vincent de Paul and the Council of Regency in France, or again that of St. Dunstan and a whole series of Anglo-Saxon kings. But the point I would wish to urge is that these cases are much more frequent than would at first sight appear, and therefore that a teacher of history would do well to point this out to pupils, less experienced than himself, who might otherwise miss it. There seems reason to think that in the Church it might be possible to draw out a genealogy of saints, not physical so much as through flesh and blood, but by spiritual generation, and thus recognise families of these exalted ones, carrying on a tradition and a training from one age to another of heroic virtue and the following of Christ along the more excellent way.

Were this the place to do it, it might be feasible to insist on the importance of the great religious families of Christendom in a lower, but at the same time noble and ascetic, sense—the importance of the religious orders in past ages. And then the historian should not pass over those other unions and societies, which under the name of guilds have without doubt exercised an influence in the main good and elevating on the whole body of Christian believers.

But there is no intention to tax your patience any further by developing this subject. It can claim nothing further than to suggest lines of thought and points of outlook, some of which might seem to have been overlaid with matters of really lesser importance. The field of Church history is so vast, and embraces so many matters capable of being pursued to almost any degree of development, were time available. Hence, one can only select, gliding over the less vital, and insisting on the momentous. This paper is only an humble plea, that, whatever is passed over, and whatever has perforce to be omitted, the points of view alluded to

in these lines should not be deprived of the attention which they deserve. An eye fixed on the Roman See in all the circumstances of the world's progress; a due consideration of the fortunes of oriental Christianity; a constant insistence on the evangelisation of the heathen; and a respectful investigation of the Saints' work in the Church: all these, we submit, will tend to illuminate our studies, and to balance our judgment, otherwise apt to be too much taken up with controversy, or politics, or the unimportant details of what is not history at all.

GEORGE STEBBING.

CARDINAL GASQUET THE HISTORIAN

The personality of a historian in most cases colours his history as it colours his life. There are historians such as Round whose influence is exerted through their writings alone; others like Ranke found a *seminar* which spreads their methods and their principles; other again, like Lord Acton and Maitland who, while not establishing a circle of pupils in this sense, exert a considerable influence by lectures delivered in a great university. These are illustrious names with which we have no immediate concern save in so far as they support the contention that an appreciation of a scholar's labours cannot end at a critical examination of his writings. Aidan Cardinal Gasquet, whose death this year has removed one of the great landmarks in the Catholic life of the English-speaking world, was no mere student. His influence only began with his books; it was carried everywhere by his rich personality into many circles and among many men.

The full significance of his work can be measured in the first place by a glance at English Catholic life in the days when the Cardinal was a young monk at Downside. He had grown up during the period when the Oxford Movement was in full development, at a time when the true approach to history was scarcely understood in religious circles. When Newman had begun his series of *Lives of the Saints* years before, he had turned to the brother of Hurrell Froude to assist him with the orders, "rationalise when the evidence is weak, and that will give credibility when the evidence is strong." Froude chose St. Neot, a contemporary of Alfred, and wound up his narrative with the words, "This is all, and perhaps rather more than all, that we know of his life!" The state of things among Catholics in the 'sixties has been described by the Cardinal himself in his brave preface to *Lord Acton and his Circle*. The *Rambler* had complained of the lack of scholarship among the Catholic body in no uncertain terms and had asserted that while popular books

abounded, while history was made edifying, science religious, and religion exceedingly attractive, the delusion was nourished that Catholics had only to communicate truths not to discover them. "The consequence is that we have not a half a dozen books which will bear critical examination or which we are not ashamed of before Protestants and foreigners." As regards scholarship in ecclesiastical circles this criticism was only too true.

In the early days of the restored English Benedictine Congregation its members had been to the fore in works both of learning and controversy; but when Dom Gasquet became Prior of Downside in 1878, at the early age of 32, this one feature of normal Benedictine life was conspicuously absent. He realised to the full this failure to contribute to the progress of religion and the strengthening of the Church and set himself to promote this sphere of work by producing a short life of St. Benedict in 1880, on the occasion of the Saint's thirteenth centenary. It was the first Downside publication since 1836. In the same year was started the *Downside Review* to provide scope for the literary activity of the community and in which were printed many of the Cardinal's most characteristic publications. In this year too occurred an incident which proved a turning point in his life: his first meeting with Edmund Bishop. It proved to Dom Gasquet as important as the meeting between those two famous scholars, Vinogradoff and Maitland, which took place four years later. Mr. H. A. L. Fisher has set down Maitland's impressions of that meeting, how from the lips of a foreigner "he first received a full consciousness of that matchless collection of documents for the legal and social history of the Middle Ages, which England had continuously preserved and neglected . . . from which it would be possible to restore an image of long vanished life with a degree of fidelity which could never be won from chronicles and professed histories." The Cardinal recalled his first meeting with Bishop in an Appreciation contributed to the *Downside Review:*

> It was in the year 1880 that I first met him. He came to Downside to pay me a short visit when I was Prior. I had heard from him before and had been astonished at the replies he had given me to certain queries I had put to him. . . . But I was unprepared for the evidence he gave me,

on our first meeting in the old parlour at Downside, of his extensive reading, his astounding memory, and his balanced judgment on the many questions of ecclesiastical history we discussed on that visit.

This was the beginning of an intimate connection and friendship which lasted to the end. Edmund Bishop was not properly appreciated in England until after his death, but he won during his lifetime the esteem of Mommsen, Waitz, Wattenbach, Liebermann, and other great continental scholars, and the help and encouragement which he was able to give to Cardinal Gasquet cannot be too highly stressed. And indeed, no one would have desired more strongly than the late Cardinal that Bishop's name should be remembered in these pages.

This period of work at Downside, of vital importance for the development of the house on true monastic lines, was for Dom Gasquet but the first phase. The second began when ill-health compelled him to resign the priorship in 1885 and when he started the long course of research in the Public Record Office and other archives of the country which resulted in the publication of the first volume of *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries* three years later. He was over forty when he first set foot in the British Museum and few men can have come to such work with greater handicaps. His doctors had declared him to be almost a dying man; until his resignation of the priorship he had been immersed in the details of administration; and he lacked the advantages of a training in one of the great English universities, with the contact with riper minds and the freedom of the world of letters which such a training brings, for the embargo on the attendance of Catholics at Oxford and Cambridge was not lifted until 1895, and the Downside House of Studies was not established in Cambridge until the following year. Here then was an unknown Benedictine monk setting to work on one of the most complicated subjects in English history, and his courage in attempting the task together with the result achieved compels admiration and should encourage imitation. For years he occupied daily from nine to four his desk under the great dome of the reading room of the British Museum, the dome which Thackeray likened to the skull of the dead Macaulay, and during those years of steady labour he was a desk

neighbour and friend of Gairdner, who was engaged in researches of a kindred nature and arriving at not wholly dissimilar conclusions.

The first volume of *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries* appeared in 1888. There can be few important books which have been so immediately successful, and few challenges to one of the accepted verdicts of history can have achieved a similar result. Among Catholics its success was assisted by an appreciation which Cardinal Manning, whose qualifications for the task were somewhat dubious, contributed to the *Dublin Review*. But the Cardinal deserves credit for realising the importance of such historical work and for obtaining from Leo XIII an injunction to the President of the Benedictine Congregation that Gasquet should be left in permanence to the pursuit of his labours. At that date work of the kind was not recognised by the authorities of the Congregation as the life work of one of its members. Historians at large were equally enthusiastic. The historian of the papacy, Bishop Creighton, gave a favourable review to the new work and Gairdner declared that "the old scandals universally discredited at the time, and believed in by a later generation only through prejudice and ignorance, are now dispelled for ever." With his first book the writer had achieved something closely approaching fame. From his foreword to the volume we can gain some insight into his methods. He admits that his sympathies are engaged although he has striven to avoid pleading a case; if facts which tell in favour of the monasteries have been insisted on more than those which tell against them it is because the latter are only too well known, whereas little has been said in behalf of the monks. In the early chapters the prelude to the suppression is described and an account of the work of the Reformation Parliament given. The *Comperta Monastica* are then examined and the significance of these documents estimated, and the book ends with accounts of Cromwell and the chief royal agents. When the second volume appeared in the following year the first was already in its second edition. Here Dom Gasquet took up the story with the dissolution of the lesser monasteries, the popular risings, the fall of the friars. The progress of the general suppression, the three Abbots

of Glastonbury, Colchester, and Reading, the monastic spoils, and the fate of the ejected monks are among other questions discussed. The second volume confirmed the judgments passed upon the first and its author now took a recognised place among English historians of the Protestant Rebellion. His book was destined to pass through seven editions and to be translated into German and French.

The forty years which have elapsed since *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries* first became the recognised authority on its subject, enable us to give some estimate of its strength and weakness. First, it must be remembered that the book was the result of very considerable research among stores of archives which were unpublished and in many cases unarranged. The first volume was the least original—much of the ground had already been covered by Dixon in his *History of the Church of England*; but the two volumes together present a complete survey which had never been previously attempted on a similar scale. Moreover, they caught the imagination of the public in a manner that was almost unique. What this exactly meant can be clearly realised if we consider that in Froude's opinion acceptance of the innocence of the monks involved the degradation and disgrace of the English Privy Council and bar, while Green's *Short History* and Seebohm's *Protestant Revolution* encouraged a belief that two-thirds of the monks were leading vicious lives under cover of their cowls. It was the Cardinal's great work to destroy the influence of such views and to clear the ground for an unimpassioned approach to the problem of the suppression. That on many points he should prove to have been mistaken was only to be expected. A glance at the bibliography of any good modern textbook, such as Preserved Smith's *Age of the Reformation*, will reveal the progress that has been made in the past forty years. Moreover, the work of research has been made considerably easier by the publication of manuscript sources; in 1888 the work of editing the *Calendars of State Papers*, whose aid the modern student takes for granted, had only just begun. Bishop Creighton criticised Dom Gasquet, and rightly, for his use of the Episcopal Registers most of which were unprinted, while no guide existed for their interpretation such as

has been established at the present day. Again, Dom Gasquet sometimes relied on historians like Brewer and, for social conclusions, on Thorald Rogers, who were the standard authorities at the time but whose theories, especially in the case of Thorald Rogers, have been largely superseded by modern research. In recent years many detailed aspects of the subject have been developed in a series of monographs: the constitutional historians have thrown new light on the composition of the Tudor Parliaments; Savine's excellent study of the *Monasteries on the Eve of the Suppression,* while re-affirming Gasquet's results in some cases, has revised them in others, chiefly on the social aspects of the suppression and such detailed points as, for example, the non-monastic population of the monasteries at the time. From the University Press of Cambridge have come the *Studies in Medieval Life and Thought.* Read thus in the light of the corrections made inevitable by the work of scholars during the last forty years, *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries* still remains one of the most valuable detailed surveys of the Suppression.

This first book of Cardinal Gasquet enables us to attempt some grouping of the rest of his works. His process of thought and investigation would seem to have developed naturally from his treatment of the suppression along three lines. First, came further investigation into the results of the suppression in so far as it affected the central rite of Catholicism, and this led to the publication of *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer* and his well-known mission to Rome in connection with Anglican Orders, to which we owe the *Leaves From My Diary 1894-6,* and a paper on the *Question of Anglican Ordinations* first read in America and published in *England Under the Old Religion.* This too was a period of collaboration with Edmund Bishop and to it logically belongs the *Bosworth Psalter,* which was not, however, published until 1908. Then came studies of the events which led up to the Reformation among which we may place the *Great Pestilence* (1893), the scattered papers which were subsequently published as *England on the Eve of the Reformation,* and *Henry III and the English Church* (1905). The years from 1901 to 1906 were also a period of contribution to learned societies, during

which appeared the *Materials for a New History of Polydore Vergil* (in the *Transactions* of the Royal Historical Society), and the *Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia* (edited for the Camden Society). Thirdly, we may place the studies on the pre-Reformation English Bible. The list given above has omitted *English Monastic Life* and *Parish Life in Medieval England*, which were both published in the *Antiquary Series* and ran through several editions; but to carry it further would be to write a mere string of names. From those already mentioned the extent of the Cardinal's labours and the width of his interests will be clear.

Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer appeared in 1890, and its interest was heightened by the controversy which had recently occurred on the Anglican ritual question, culminating in the famous Lincoln case. Written in collaboration with Edmund Bishop it was, and still remains, one of Dom Gasquet's most important books, and no excuse is needed for examining it at length. The object of the authors was to ascertain from an enquiry into the origin and history of the Prayer Book whether it is an honest attempt to remain as near to the missal and breviary in previous use as would be compatible with the Anglican position, or whether it is intentionally different from what had gone before and is to be classed with the Lutheran liturgies of the Continent. The conclusion arrived at is that Luther's handiwork and Cranmer's agree in the total negation of sacrifice, which is the central thought of the Mass. The sources of the Prayer Book had already been explored to a considerable extent, and the influence of known authorities such as Quignon ascertained by successive writers. But still it was felt that the records were very scanty of the actual process of compilation itself, and that it was difficult to fill the void between 1540 and 1549, the time when the old uses were called in and examined and the time when the new use was sent out. The work consists of two parts: the historical narrative in sixteen chapters, and the invaluable appendix of original documents, to illustrate which the former was written. Several manuscripts of the highest importance for the history of the Prayer Book were brought to light which had escaped the attention of previous enquirers, including a breviary with Cranmer's annotations; a

report of the great debate on the sacrament held in the Lords in 1548, and a report of some of the proceedings of the memorable convocation of the same year, the first of Edward VI. The breviary and lectionary thus discovered supplied the lost links of the chain which leads from the old English service-books to the new Prayer Book. The authors also pointed out that the records of Edward's first convocation had been badly treated by Burnet, Strype, and Wilkins. In his review of the volume, Canon Dixon, who had preceded Gasquet in research on this question, did not hesitate to describe it as an important and valuable book. "Written in an excellent spirit, conciliatory and calm, it adds much to our knowledge of one of the most memorable periods in the history of the English Church."

This opinion is not without interest in view of subsequent developments. In some circles the book was scarcely welcomed, and when Dom Gasquet was summoned to Rome over the question of Anglican Orders, there was a feeling among some Anglicans that he was an enemy of their cause who had already forejudged the issue. Indeed, some shadow of this feeling was apparent in the obituary notice of the dead Cardinal which appeared recently in the Anglican *Church Times*. In this connection the following quotation from a letter which Gasquet inserted in *Leaves From My Diary* is of interest: "My connection with Anglican Orders was certainly not of my own seeking. In fact, on this burning controversy I have kept silence, and indeed have expressly passed it over when dealing with the Anglican Liturgy in conjunction with my friend Edmund Bishop, in the volume *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer.*" Against this, in the margin of his copy of the book which is in the Downside library, Edmund Bishop has written in his characteristic handwriting: "There is not even one word which can be read as provocative or as even possibly opening the door to a discussion or consideration of the case on its merits." Dom Gasquet's part in the Commission proved to be of great importance. In his diary under the date Feb. 19, 1890, he has the entry: "This morning whilst working in the Vatican Archives . . . I found a Brief of Paul IV (30 Oct., 1555) explaining the meaning of the words in a previous

Bull, *recte et rite consecrati*—a very important document. . . ." On the following Wednesday he writes: "Today in the Regesta of Paul IV I found the Bull *Praeclara Charissimi*. . . . It is of the highest importance in the Orders question." The result of these labours is well known, and they naturally brought Dom Gasquet into great prominence at Rome. In 1900, he was elected Abbot President of the English Benedictines, and rumour already announced an impending bestowal of the Hat. He had already been appointed a Consultor to the Commission for the Reunion of Dissident Churches.

The Great Pestilence appeared in 1893, and a second edition, with the title changed to *The Black Death,* in 1908. It was the first attempt to provide a detailed treatment of the subject, and the importance which Gasquet attributed to it is evident from his preface to the volume. To him the Black Death was a turning point in our national history which formed the real close of the medieval period and the inauguration of the modern age. Its influence on the Church was little short of catastrophic: "in 1351 the whole ecclesiastical system was wholly disorganised, or indeed, more than half ruined, . . . everything had to be built up anew." This is the argument maintained throughout the book which traces the course of the pestilence on its journey to England, its progress through this country, the desolation that ensued and its permanent results. This view of the catastrophic nature of the Black Death on its religious side was supported by the economic arguments put forward in *Agriculture and Prices* by Thorald Rogers. In recent years it has been subjected to considerable criticism. The work of Thorald Rogers has been much undermined by modern research, and Vinogradoff has warned us that the great plague can no longer be raised to the dignity of a constant economic force. Detailed examination into the financial condition of individual monasteries and into the numbers of religious living in them has shown that the effect of the Black Death on the decline of the English monastic houses has been overstressed. Yet if Gasquet's estimate of the economic and religious results of the pestilence may seem today somewhat superficial, the book is still of value on account of the large amount of important material which has been

assembled from different sources, and as being one of the few detailed accounts of a subject which calls for more attention than it has so far received.

The last work of the Cardinal's which will be noticed here in detail is one of the most outstanding and authoritative of them all: *Henry III and the English Church*, which appeared in 1905. It carried the Cardinal into a field in which he had not previously ventured, a fact which may account for occasional indications of unfamiliarity with the details of thirteenth-century history. The introduction to the book is in some ways important: it affords an approach to his own view of history and its study—"Everyone who has made the endeavour will recognise how difficult it is accurately to determine the sense of even one document, and what stern self-discipline is requisite as the first condition of every critical enquiry or historical investigation." He gives a carefully-worded and temperate vindication of the part played by the papacy in the development of thirteenth-century England and emphasizes the fact that contemporary leaders of the anti-Roman party limited their opposition to the papacy to resenting the constant demands made upon the revenues of the English Church. Moreover, like Grosseteste, the foes of the Curia frequently stressed the spiritual supremacy of the pope. It has recently been said by no less an authority on the Middle Ages than the Regius Professor at Oxford that the reorganisation of the Church in England which followed on the Lateran Council of 1215-16 was the most important episode in the history of the English Church between Gregory VII and the Reformation.[1] In *Henry III and the English Church*, Cardinal Gasquet in a measure forestalled this judgement in his chapter on the ecclesiastical reorganisation, with its careful account of the early synods, especially that one held at Oxford by Archbishop Langton in 1222, of the disputes between the episcopate and the monastic bodies, and of the relations between the episcopate and the papacy. The narrative method adopted allows little scope for bias or theorising, and the book as a whole reveals a wide acquaintance with the sources of the period.

[1] *Stephen Langton*, by F. M. Powicke.

It was an important book, and in spite of subsequent research on such topics as the use and abuse of papal provisions it still remains indispensable.

With *Henry III and the English Church*, our examination of Cardinal Gasquet's work in detail ends and the task remains of attempting some final estimate of his work as a whole. It must be admitted that the Cardinal's writings have been subjected to strong criticism from certain quarters, and that reflections have even been made on his honesty in the selection of evidence. In itself, criticism, however strong, is part of the nature of historical science which is always subject to revision and must abandon much to the hand of time. With the latter charge it is obviously unnecessary to deal: the Cardinal's character is sufficient to render the accusation fantastic to those who knew him. No doubt he was, like many historians, a careless copyist and corrector of proofs, and he did not always trouble to distinguish sufficiently between quotations in full and his own abridgements. But deliberate alteration of the meaning of his sources was impossible to him and he sought, to the best of his power, to reconstruct the past solidly and patiently from the sources and to set down his results untwisted by bias, and uncoloured by romance. Froude's *History of the Reign of Henry VIII* will no doubt survive if only for the brillance and power of its style. Cardinal Gasquet lacked Froude's gift of word-painting, as he lacked his extraordinary bias; if we compare his account of Woburn Abbey at the Dissolution with that of Froude the advantage, so far as style is concerned, rests with the latter; but Gasquet was possessed of a command over words that was quite sufficient for his purposes, and he could handle a small subject especially with an ease and distinction of his own.

One of the greatest of all the services which the Cardinal rendered was to open up new fields for research among neglected archives and to suggest many new subjects for development. In this connection it will suffice to quote from a recent work on the medieval sermon manuscripts which calls attention to the Cardinal's services in this particular field. "Apart from a few random editions of Early English Texts since his day [Thomas

Wright], they remained wholly neglected until Dr. Gasquet (as he then was) uttered a rousing plea for their study in two essays originally published in the Dublin *Review*." [2] Instances of this kind could be multiplied. It is indeed desirable that some Catholic scholar should come forward who would be prepared to undertake such revision of the late Cardinal's books as research and the lapse of time have rendered necessary. From time to time he was urged by friends to republish old articles, and it is to be regretted that some of these, among which we may include *Adrian IV and Ireland*, were by this time obsolete and were republished without the revision which was necessary; for, from 1909 when his appointment as President of the Vulgate Commission took place, the Cardinal was to a great extent cut off from his former studies and immersed in new and onerous duties of administration.

Some account has already been given of how Cardinal Gasquet broke a silence of over forty years and restored literary labours to their traditional position of importance among the English Benedictines. If in England today Catholics enjoy a place in the intellectual life of the country which is far different from that of the days when W. G. Ward compared their relations to the Protestant world to those which exist between barbarians and civilised men, Cardinal Gasquet has played his full part in effecting the change. In Acton the Church had possessed the greatest English scholar of the century, but his conflicts with ecclesiastical authority had restricted his influence and crippled his activity. To Cardinal Gasquet fell the task which Acton in less troubled times would have accomplished—that of breaking down prejudice and misunderstanding in the world of letters. Of Cardinal Gasquet's success there can be no doubt whatsoever, and here his personal charm and distinction played as important a part as his learning. At the British Museum and the Public Record Office, and on all the common hunting grounds where scholars meet, the Cardinal made a host of friends and admirers; in America, in Germany, and France, where he was on friendly terms with Liebermann and Leopold Delisle, his reputation stood high, and Louvain

[2] *Preaching in Medieval England*, by G. R. Owst.

honoured him with the doctorate in company with one of the greatest historians of his day, Duchesne. His elevation to the Cardinalate in 1914 was said to have given greater pleasure to Englishmen than any other since 1879 when Newman received the Hat, and public opinion was reflected in the *Times*: "The great services which Dom Gasquet has rendered to his Church are only equalled by those which he has rendered to his country as a historian. Every Englishman will rejoice that the Pope should have singled out for the highest honour one of the most distinguished writers of the English language and the greatest living authority on the early religious history of England." This great tribute was reinforced by a presentation to the Cardinal organised by a committee whose members included Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, then Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield University, and afterwards a member of the Asquith Cabinet, Sir Adolphus Ward of the University of Cambridge, and Dr. Firth, the then Regius Professor at Oxford.

The honours which followed 1914 gave fresh opportunities of service. As Librarian and Prefect of the Vatican Archives, the Cardinal was able to place his knowledge and authority at the disposal of students who were working in Rome. Of his work in re-arranging the archives from the chaotic state in which they had remained since Napoleon carried them off to Paris, one slight memorial exists in *Great Britain and the Holy See: 1792-1806*, and the work which has been in progress at Rome since 1918 should, when completed, be of incalculable assistance in facilitating historical research.

The Cardinal died at Rome in the April of this year and lies buried in the Abbey Church at Downside. We are too close to him to make the final estimate of his powers, not too far off to learn from one who taught that the main duty of the historian is neither eulogy nor invective, that if—to use Lord Acton's memorable phrase—we lower our standard in history we cannot uphold it in Church or State.

ADRIAN MOREY.

MISCELLANY

SURVEY OF SOURCE MATERIALS FOR THE CATHOLIC HISTORY OF THE SOUTHWEST

The proposed history of the Catholic Church in Texas presents to the Catholic historians and scholars of the entire country a virgin field for research, because much of the documentary material has just recently come to light, and much more remains to be explored.

The story of the adventures of Cabeza de Vaca furnishes all the incidents of seven years of long and toilsome journeys in the Southwest, then a vast wilderness peopled only by savages. The best literal translation of the *Relación* is that of Buckingham Smith entitled, *The Narrative of Alvar Nuñez, Cabeza de Vaca.* Dr. John Gilmary Shea in an interesting memoir at the end of this book gives an appreciation of Smith as an historical scholar.

From Pierre Margry's *Mémoires et Documents pour servir à l'histoire des origines françaises de pays d'Outre-Mer,* the historian may obtain most of the facts of the ill-fated La Salle expedition in search of the mouth of the Mississippi. The exploration party sailed past this location, and by mistake landed at Matagorda Bay in Texas. Fort St. Louis was built and then La Salle attempted to travel back east by land. The Chevalier was treacherously murdered in Texas by some of his followers, and the remnants of the group who remained at the fort either died from small-pox or were cruelly massacred by the Indians.

Much concerning La Salle and the Southwest will be found in the two volumes of *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773,* collected by Adolf F. A. Bandelier and Fanny R. Bandelier, edited by Professor Charles W. Hackett, and published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1923, 1926.

About this time the Viceroy of Mexico, Conde de Paredes, Marques de Laguna, gave orders to the Marques de San Miguel de Aguayo, governor of the New Kingdom of Leon, to watch the movements of the French. Alonso de Leon and Father Damien Manzanet headed an expedition in 1689. Manzanet has left a letter to Don Carlos de Seguenza. This original document is preserved at Texas A. and M. College.

In the year 1901, Dr. Garrison wrote an article for the *Nation* entitled, "Archivo General de Mexico." This writer cleared away the obscurity long existing about the *Colección de Memorias de Nueva España,* which had hitherto been regarded by many historians as the same thing as the Archivo General de Mexico of which it is only a fractional part. This portion is only one of the small sections of twenty or more branches that compose the Archivo General, Sección de Historia.

After Dr. Garrison brought to light the contents of the *Colección de Memorias,* Dr. Bolton continued the investigation. The papers most important for our purpose are volumes twenty-seven and twenty-eight of the *Memorias,* entitled *Documentos para Historia Ecclesiastica y Civil de la Provincia de Texas.*

Dr. Bolton spent five years compiling a handbook for the Mexican Archives. This work, published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, furnishes the historian with an annotated catalogue of over five hundred pages. *The Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in Mexican Archives* is indispensable for the Catholic missionary history of Texas.

The works of Father Morfi and Father Tello have a direct bearing upon the Catholic Church in the Southwest. When Father Morfi died, memoranda of his papers were found in the cell of the deceased guardian, and these were delivered to Father Lejarza to be placed in the archives of the province. Six bundles concerning New Mexico were found, Texas one, California one, letters to clergymen and missionaries one, the diary of Croix one. There was also listed a rough draft of his *Historia de Tejas* and three other diaries. All the records bear the signature of Father Francisco de Lejarza.

The vast extent of the Archivo General can only be estimated. There are thirty-five thousand volumes of manuscripts bound and almost as many bundles piled, ceiling high, at the Palacio Nacional in Mexico City. Eight sections in particular have a great value to the student of history. The two sections best arranged are those containing the royal *cédulas,* orders or decrees to the viceroys. The communications of the viceroys with the court of Spain will certainly give information to the Catholic historians.

Besides these two sections, those of the Provincias Internas, Historia de Californias, Misiones y Justicia are of primary importance from our standpoint. The correspondence of the viceroys bears a closer

relation than the *cédulas* since these relations are based on the reports of the provincial governors, missionaries, military officials, and local authorities. These, therefore, reflect the spirit and the conditions of the times. The files of documents are fairly complete beginning with 1755 and ending with 1821. They contain in all about three hundred and forty-five volumes. Father Talamantes tried to supply the deficiencies and gaps by compiling a collection of extracts from the viceroys' correspondence and the royal decrees. These documents are now preserved as a part of the Sección de Historia.

The same indefatigable spirit of the true historian was maintained by Dr. Bolton, whenever he visited these archival centers. Two depositories have a special interest for the historian of the Catholic Church in Texas. The Colegio de Santa Cruz de Queretaro and the Colegio de Nuestra Señora de Gaudalupe at Zacatecas sent Franciscan missionaries into Texas and the relations of these padres gathered in these archives are fruitful sources of historical information.

Another fountain head of Texas religious history is the *Crónica Apostolica y Seraphica de todos los colegios de esta Nueva España de Misioneros Franciscanos.* The first part appeared in Mexico in 1746, contributed by Padre Isidore Felix Espinosa, who himself was one of the pioneer missionaries of Texas. The second part (complete in itself) was written and published fifty years later by Padre Juan Domingo Arricivita and gives a record of this intervening period of the Franciscan efforts for the conversion of the Indians to Christianity. There are alone about thirty chapters devoted to the life of the saintly and Venerable Padre Antonio Margil de Jesus, regarded today as the patron of Texas.

The Bexar Archives located at the University of Texas contain over a hundred years of records that must be investigated for valuable information. The Nacogdoches archives comprise over twenty thousand pages of historical material, much of which is relevant because this place, situated so close to the borderland of Texas, was the gateway for the eastern and northern immigration and settlement of Texas. Then there is much pertinent information in the Lamar and in the Austin papers, recently (Washington, D. C., 1919-1922) published by Professor Barker of the University of Texas.

By far the most prolific source of historic data for the story of Catholicity in Texas will be found in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville in Spain. The wealth of this immense collection of documents, principally on New Spain, is estimated conservatively to contain

about one hundred and sixty million pages and these are only in the initial stage of exploration; but they have already yielded up data on every conceivable subject in the Spanish colonial administration, and this colonization was developed in conjunction with the efforts of the missionaries to bring Christianity and civilization to the New World. The relations existing between the viceroyalty and the Indian mission settlements in Texas are all recorded in minutest detail. This depository must be regarded as the most complete archival center for materials on Texas history to be found anywhere in the world.

American scholars owe a profound debt of gratitude to the gallant men who have attempted to catalogue this vast mass of material. Under the direction of the Department of History, Carnegie Institution of Washington, and under the personal inspiration of its former chief, Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, now head of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, Professor William R. Shepherd began the work (1907) with his *Guide to the Materials for the History of the United States in Spanish Archives.* This was supplemented by Dr. James Robertson's *List of Documents in Spanish Archives relating to the History of the United States which have been printed or of which Transcripts are Preserved in American Libraries* (1910), and by Dr. Chapman's *Catalogue of Materials in the Archivo General de Indias for the History of the Pacific Coast and the American Southwest* (1919). It is Chapman who estimates the wealth of the Archivo at 160,000,000 pages of manuscript.

The gathering of historical material for the writing of the history of the Catholic Church in Texas includes also that portion of territory embraced by the limits of the present Diocese of El Paso, and consequently a considerable portion of what is now the state of New Mexico comes within the scope of the investigation. The archives of Santa Fe must be carefully examined. The earliest provincial records before the year 1680 unfortunately met with ruin and destruction during the Pueblo Revolt of that year. To add to this disaster the bulky accumulations of one hundred and sixty years that followed were carelessly kept and shamefully neglected. Some of the remaining documents within the last seventy-five years were sold for wrapping paper. Only one quarter of these were recovered. These remnants, however, with those of the cathedral are still worthy of attention. The contents of one hundred and thirty-five pasteboard boxes were salvaged in the early eighties by Judge Samuel Ellison, then custodian and territorial librarian of New Mexico. These archives,

fragmentary and inadequate, are now available and they will surely throw some light on the history of the Catholic Church in Texas and the Southwest.

Thanks to the writers of history of these early times and to the chronologists, some of the documents destroyed had already been consulted. From these almost contemporaneous secondary sources the historian of today may be able to extract much that is really valuable.

In 1778, Padre Escalante covered the period from 1680-1717, availing himself of the records which in his day were intact. The title of this work, still extant, is known as *Carta del Padre Fray Silvestre de Escalante.* The work contains copious excerpts of the original papers, and, therefore, its authority cannot be questioned. A search in the Archivo General de Mexico has revealed that most records cited can be found. The Herbert Howe Bancroft collection located at the University of California contains copies of these same documents and many others. The same group was printed in 1856 with the title *Documentos de Historia de Mexico.* In volume twenty-five of the Archivo General de Mexico (1756 pages) much valuable data on ecclesiastical matters can be obtained. The special title is *Documentos para Historia de Nuevo Mexico.* Here are recorded the reports of the friars for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Here are to be found such necessary writings as Apodaco's *Dirigados,* Niel's *Apuntamientos,* Paredes' *Utiles y Curioses Noticias de Nuevo Mexico,* and Pasadas' *Informe.*

The Pinart collection of documents concerning New Mexico gathered from various sources is particularly rich in communications that passed between the governors in New Mexico and the authorities in Chihauhua and Mexico City.

The more important *cédulas* or decrees from 1631-1762 are transcribed on sixty folio pages and may be located in the Bancroft collection. Bonilla's *Apuntes sobre Nuevo Mexico* which furnishes an outline of annals to the year 1776 is also to be found at the University of California. Besides the different series of collected documents that have been gathered from time to time there is one group most useful to the historian, Pacheco y Cardenas, *Colección de Documentos ineditos.*

A number of individual documents with the growth of time have appeard in print; for example: Niza's *Descubrimiento,* 1539; Castaneda's *Relación,* 1540-2; Coronado's *Relación del Suceso,* 1540-2; Jaramillo's *Relación,* 1540-2; Espejo's *Relación,* also his *Expediente,*

1582; his *Testimonio* 1582-3; his *Memoria,* 1595-1602; his *Itinerario,* 1596-9; his *Traslado de Posesión,* 1598; his *Discurso,* 1602. Most of these have been translated by Dr. Herbert Eugene Bolton in his *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest.* There are also Martin's *Asiento,* 1583; Loma's *Asiento,* 1599; Castano de Losa's *Memoria,* Oñate's *Copia de Carta,* 1599; Freytas's *Relación,* 1661; Benavides's *Memorial,* 1630, and his *Requeste Remonstrative,* 1631 [1]; Salmaron's *Relaciónes.* Translations of Benavides and Salmaron are to be found in Lummis, *Land of Sunshine.* The Ayer translation of the *Memorial* (Chicago, privately printed, 1916) will soon be supplemented by a new edition under the direction of Frederick Webb Hodge.

A few early printed histories are most noteworthy: Villagra's *History of New Mexico,* 1618; Seguenza y Gongora's *Mercurio Volante,* 1693; and Crespo's *Memoria Ajustada,* 1738.

A careful study of a recent publication by Anne E. Hughes entitled *The Beginnings of Spanish Settlement in the El Paso District,* reveals the use of documents discovered by Dr. Bolton. Four manuscript *expedientes* for the years 1680-1685 throw light on a period of history whose pages have been shrouded by obscurity. The titles of these groups of related documents are: (1) *Autos Tocantes*; (2) *Autos pertenecientes*; (3) *Autos sobre los Socorros*; (4) *Expediente, No. 2 Fojas 47.* Padre Talamantes' *Viaje que a Solicitud de los Naturales de la Provinca de Texas* was also found in the Mexican archives. Other documents used by Hughes, taken from the Bandalier Collection, are the *Autos de Fundación de la Missión de Nuestra Señora de Gaudalupe de los Mansos del Paso del Norte* (*In Libero Primero de Casamientos El Paso del Norte*), 1659. The Juarez Archives throw light on the history of this district.

Of special value to the historian are the old standard chronicles. Here are recorded the earliest annals to the year 1700 and later. Besides those already mentioned, Vetancurt's *Crónica Indiana* and Torquemada's *Monarquia Indiana* are very important. Others worthy of mention are Medina's *Chronica* and Beaumont's *Chronica.* Attention should also be given to valuable material in Mendieta's *Historia*

[1] See Rev. Dr. Thomas O'Rourke's article in *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, Oct., 1928, describing documents of Benavides recently discovered in the Propaganda Archives. Photostat copies of these, together with the fuller *Memorial,* are in the Guilday Transcripts at the Catholic University of America.

Ecclesiastica, Oviedo's *Historia General,* Gomara's *Historia de las Indias,* Villaseñor's *Theatro* and many other printed accounts too numerous to mention. Of bibliographies, perhaps the most comprehensive are those prepared by Mr. C. K. Jones which have been printed in the *Hispanic American Review.* Most useful also are the two volumes of the *Spanish Archives of New Mexico,* compiled by Ralph E. Twitchell.

PAUL J. FOIK.

MEDIEVAL PRINTS IN MODERN REPRODUCTION

The appeal of medieval art to the modern mind has apparently never been so strong as in recent years. The output of literature on this subject is growing day by day. Exhibitions of the originals and reproductions in faithful copies are gaining a wide circle of enthusiasts who sincerely appreciate and genuinely enjoy the medieval fine arts.

A distinctly medieval invention is engraving, or the art and process of making incisions on wooden blocks or metal plates for the purpose of producing therefrom an impression. The impressions are called *prints,* because they are printed from the engraved block or plate. Printing of wood-cuts became an art toward the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries, while copper-plate printing was invented toward the middle of the fifteenth century. Both arts are German inventions, and it was in Germany in the early part of the sixteenth century, that in the works of Albrecht Duerer they reached their highest development.

The prints of the fifteenth century have come to us in one of three different ways: as separate prints, as collected into blockbooks, and as illustrations to books printed with movable type. Historically, the separate prints represent the first stage of the development of engraving. By a strange anomaly they were long overlooked by connoisseurs, who devoted most of their attention to blockbooks. It was the monumental work of Wilhelm Ludwig Schreiber (*Manuel de l'amateur de la gravure au XV. siècle,* vol. I-III, Berlin, 1891-1893; 2d. edit. entitled: *Handbuch der Holz- u. Metallschnitte des XV. Jahrhunderts,* 6 vols., Leipzig, 1926-1928), that first awakened a lively interest in separate prints. A seventh of the fifteenth century separate prints

that have come down to us represent profane subjects, such as portraits of men and women, almanacs, astronomical constellations, monstrosities and freaks of nature. The greater part, therefore, represents biblical scenes, favorite saints, places of pilgrimage, New Year's greetings, virtues and vices, commandments of God, and whatever else conveyed religious and moral instruction. The 5000 prints preserved represent but a small percentage of the original output. Of most blocks only one or two prints have come down to us, while of many others there remains no print at all. Therefore, the price of the old prints is very high. Separate prints, dating from the beginning of the fifteenth century, frequently sell from a thousand to two thousand dollars.

High priced originals have now been made accessible to amateurs by exquisite reproductions, portraying all the artistic qualities of the models and rivaling them in the faithfulness of execution. In fact, the modern facsimile copy often resembles the original so closely that only an expert connoisseur is able to detect the difference. At times he will be deceived by a clever counterfeiter.

In 1898 the beginning of facsimile reproductions of fifteenth-century separate prints was made. The first work is the facsimile edition of New Year's greetings by Paul Heitz, in Strassburg. His publication was so well received, that soon a cheap reprint was issued. In the following years the firm of Paul Heitz reproduced a number of facsimiles of fifteenth and sixteenth century books. Finally, in 1906, it commenced to publish a series of facsimiles of fifteenth century separate prints, accompanied by scholarly descriptions. The title of the series is *Einblattdrucke des 15. Jahrhunderts.* From 1906 to 1912, a very large number of fifteenth century single prints existing in the libraries of Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, were reproduced in twenty-five volumes. Robert A. Peddie has drawn up a list of the titles and contents of these volumes (*Fifteenth Century Books: a Guide.* London, 1913, pp. 31). The series is still being continued, and up to the present Paul Heitz has reproduced more than one thousand prints preserved in European and American libraries. The facsimiles are printed on sheets of folio size, the descriptive text being written by connoisseurs, mostly by Schreiber. The latest volumes are: *Einzel-Formschnitte des 15. Jahrhunderts aus der Sammlung Paul Heitz* (14 plates, Strassburg, 1925); *Einzel-Formschnitte des 15. Jahrhunderts im Museum zu Weimar* (14 plates,

Strassburg, 1925); *Graphische Blaetter des 15. Jahrh. in der Landesbibliothek zu Wolfenbuettel* (12 plates, 1925); *Holz- u. Metallschnitte aus der oeffentlichen Bibliothek zu St. Petersburg* (6 plates, 1925); *Holzschnitte, Metallschnitte, Kupferstiche u. Teigdrucke im Besitze des Bezirksarchives u. der Univ.- u. Landesbibliothek zu Strassburg u. der Stadtbibl. zu Trier* (14 plates, 1926); *Holz- u. Metallschnitte aus der Studienbibliothek zu Linz a. d. D., der Universitaets-Bibliothek zu Innsbruck, des Stiftes Schlierbach u. der Studienbibliothek zu Salzburg* (12 plates, 1927); *Holzschnitte, Schrotblaetter u. Teigdrucke des 15. Jahrhunderts aus der Sammlung James McGuire in New York* (28 plates, 1928). The prices of single volumes range from ten to twenty-five dollars. At present, 65 volumes have been published at the price of $172.75.

Paul Heitz soon found worthy emulators in his enterprise of spreading medieval prints. We pass over the earlier publications and mention here only the latest. F. M. Haberditzl published facsimile reproductions of the single fifteenth century woodcuts preserved in the Court Library of Vienna: *Einblattdrucke des 15. Jahrh. in der Hofbibliothek zu Wien,* Band I (120 plates, Vienna 1920). A. Stix published facsimiles of fifteenth century single metal engravings preserved in the same Viennese library: *Einblattdrucke des 15. Jahrh. in der Hofbibliothek in Wien,* Band II (31 plates, Vienna, 1920). The two volumes together contain 300 facsimiles in folio on phototype plates, original size, in colors. This splendid publication brings to light the great treasure of single prints preserved in the print room of the Hofbibliothek at Vienna. Most of the prints are unique, and the edition was limited to 150 copies at the price of $100.

The fifteenth century single prints preserved in Czechoslovakia were collected and issued in facsimile reproductions by Z. V. Tobolka, *Einblattdrucke des 15. Jahrh. im Gebiete der cechoslovakischen Republik herausgegeben,* part I, Prague, 1928, folio, $12.50. The prints are reproduced in original size and were colored by hand.

France is comparatively poor in early prints, owing to the vandalism of the French Revolution which destroyed all representations of religious or monarchical subjects. What is left, are mostly profane representations. The first monumental work dealing with fifteenth century single prints preserved in France was published by Messieurs P. L. Duchartre and R. Saulnier: *L'imagerie populaire. Les images de toutes les provinces françaises du XV^e siècle au second empire.*

Paris, 1925, 4°; with 20 plates of facsimiles in colors and numerous illustrations in the text, $5.00. The authors treat the origin of prints, motifs, their place in art, and give descriptions of prints arranged according to provinces. Their work is an indispensable help for dating the prints and an invaluable guide for estimating the rarity of each piece.

A kind of introduction for the study of these early prints is the book: *Die primitiven Holzschnitte* by Kurt Pfister, Munich, 1922, 4°; with 44 plates (8 plates colored), $2.00. This work is very helpful to the student wishing to appreciate these reproductions of engravings. The author raises several new problems and offers some ingenious solutions.

The more perfect prints of the sixteenth century have always engaged the attention of connoisseurs. Naturally they were the first to be multiplied by facsimile reproductions. In 1857, A. v. Eye and Jac. Falke issued at Nuremberg, a series of sixteenth century prints with descriptions: *Gallerie der Meisterwerke altdeutscher Holzschneidekunst.* The woodcuts there reproduced date from the beginning of the sixteenth century and represent, with but few exceptions, biblical subjects. Since 1857, a great number of works have appeared giving facsimiles of sixteenth century prints from various masters. But up to recent times a complete collection had not appeared. In December, 1923, Max Geisberg commenced to publish a monumental work which, when completed, will fill a great gap and reproduce more facsimile prints than scores of older volumes. The title of the work is *Der deutsche Einblatt-Holzschnitt in der ersten Haelfte des 16. Jahrhunderts.* The author restricts himself to the publication of separate woodcuts executed by German masters during the years 1501 to 1550.

Wood-engraving reached the height of perfection in the works of the German masters during the early part of the sixteenth century. Since 1908, the author of this work, Max Geisberg, is working at a complete catalogue of all sixteenth century separate prints. As far as feasible each print is reproduced from the best model in original size. The complete publication will comprise 1600 facsimiles collected into forty portfolios of forty leaves each. The firm of Hugo Schmidt in Munich is issuing the work, on hand-made paper, in three editions, at the respective price of $2800, $1600, and $2000. From December, 1923, to December, 1928, the firm published thirty-seven

portfolios. The greater part of the prints are representations of religious subjects, some of which are very rare and are now reproduced for the first time. The *Koelnische Volkszeitung,* the leading Catholic newspaper of Germany, greatly welcomed this very expensive publication calling it a "cultural work of first rank," and expressing the hope "that educated Germans will not neglect the opportunity to buy this unique treasure trove of art and, by subscribing to it, further the enterprise."

Albrecht Duerer (d. 1528), probably the greatest engraver of all times, produced many single prints besides more than a hundred woodcuts and several series of engravings. Repeatedly his works have been reproduced in facsimiles. As the latest reproductions we mention the series of twelve prints on the Passion of Christ, published by Duerer at Nuremberg, in 1511, and having printed on the reverse of each plate the Latin poetical description by Chelidonius. This facsimile edition in a limited issue of 500 copies, at $2.50 a copy, was produced by the Reichsdruckerei at Berlin, in 1919. Duerer's so-called "Green Passion," a series of twelve pen drawings on green paper and preserved at the Albertina Museum of Vienna, was reproduced and edited by J. Meder at Munich, in 1923: *Duerers Gruene Passion* (8 plates with explanatory text in 4° and 11 plates of reproductions in folio, $2.00). Duerer's copperplate engravings were reproduced and edited by F. F. Leitschuh at Leipzig, in 1912 (104 plates in folio). This edition became so popular that up to 1923 four other issues appeared under the title: *Duerers Saemtliche Kupferstiche,* $25.00. Duerer's drawings, preserved in the Lubomirski Museum at Lemberg, were reproduced by M. Gebarowicz and H. Tietze at Vienna, in 1929 (24 plates at $7.50).

The series of woodcuts executed and published in 1506, at Basel, as illustrations of the Latin Passion of Our Lord by Urs Graf, were reproduced with an explanatory text by W. Worringer at Munich, in 1923 (27 plates in 4° and 23 pages of text, $1.50).

M. Lehrs issued a reproduction of sixteenth century copperplate prints by two unknown masters: *Der Meister L. Cz und der Meister Ws B. Nachbildungen ihrer Kupferstiche,* Berlin, 1922 (12 plates, folio, $10.00). W. Biehl produced facsimiles of nine prints by using the original blocks and striking off the impressions in medieval fashion. The blocks are preserved in the city museum of Bautzen and were cut by masters like Duerer, Schaeuffelein, and others. They are, *Altmeister-Holzschnitte aus dem Besitz des Stadtmuseums in*

Bautzen, Munich, 1923 (9 plates in folio, $7.50; edition limited to 440 copies).

Prints of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are reproduced by C. Dodgson, *Old French Colour Prints,* London, 1924 (88 plates, 24 of which colored in 4°, $15.50), by C. Glaser, *Gotische Holzschnitte,* Berlin, 1923 (6 reproductions in the text and 55 plates, 7 of which are colored, $12.50), and by E. Weil, *Einblattholzschnitte des 15. u. 16. Jahrhunderts,* Munich, 1925 (11 reproductions made by impressions from the original blocks in medieval fashion, folio, $15.00).

Regarding prints adorning printed books, artists have been equally active in furnishing modern reproductions. The first place in this category must be assigned to Albert Schramm's work, *Der Bilderdruck der Fruehdrucke,* which was reviewed in the April number of this REVIEW. In 1923 there was begun a series of reproductions on a smaller scale: *Hauptwerke des Holzschnittes.* The first volume of this collection reproduces the 27 full-page cuts of the German Bible printed at Cologne, in 1479, with descriptive text by W. Worringer: *Die Koelner Bibel* (Munich, 1923, 4°, pp. 15 of text and 27 plates, $1.50). The third volume offers reproductions of the 45 full-page cuts of the German Bible printed at Luebeck, in 1494, with descriptive text by M. J. Friedlaender: *Die Luebecker Bibel* (Munich, 1923, 4°, pp. 10 of text and 45 plates, $1.50). The fourth volume gives reproductions of the 36 woodcuts of *Buch und Leben Aesopi,* printed at Ulm, in 1475, with descriptions by W. Worringer (Munich, 1925, 4°, $1.50). The attractive book of Emil Weil, *Der Ulmer Holzschnitt im 15. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1923, 4°, with 100 reproductions, $2.50), brings reproductions of the illustrations in books printed at Ulm prior to the year 1501. L. S. Olschki, the well-known antiquarian of Florence, reproduces in his work, *Le Livre illustré au XV. siècle* (Florence, 1925), 344 illustrations of fifteenth-century books, on 220 plates; price, $5.00. The illustrations of Spanish fifteenth-century books are reproduced by J. P. R. Lyell in *Early book illustrations in Spain, with an introduction by Konrad Haebler* (London, 1926, 4°, $22.00), and the illustrations of French fifteenth-century books by A. Blum in *Les origines du livre à gravures en France* (Paris, 1928, with 156 plates, $23.00).

The literature dealing with old prints and book illustrations has grown to large dimensions. A. W. Pollard's *Early Illustrated Books* (London, 1893), may still be considered the most useful introduction

to the subject. A good account of the origin and development of engraving and book illustration in the Netherlands during the fifteenth century is given by A. J. J. Delen in *Histoire de la gravure dans les Anciens Pays-Bas,* vol. I. *Des origines à 1500* (Paris, 1924, 4°, with 66 plates, $10.00).

The marks used by the early printers were the first prints reproduced in modern times because of their usefulness in identifying books without date of publication. In 1730 Roth-Scholtzius published reproductions in his *Thesaurus symbolorum* (Nuremberg, 1730, fol.). The latest publications on the subject are the works of R. Juchhoff, *Die Drucker- u. Verlagermarken des 15. Jahrhunderts in Belgiën, England, Holland, Polen, Portugal, Schweiz u. Spanien* (Munich, 1926, 4°, with 140 reproductions, $3.00); J. v. Vegh, *Ofener Buchhaendlermarken 1488-1525* (Budapest, 1923, 4°, with 26 reproductions, $5.00); W. J. Meyer, *Die franzoesischen Drucker- u. Verlegerzeichen des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1926, 4°, with 189 reproductions, $3.25); and E. Weil, *Deutsche Druckerzeichen des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1924, 8°, with numerous reproductions, $2.00). A thoroughgoing study on the origin and significance of the marks of German printers was lately published by A. Meiner: *Das deutsche Signet* (Leipsic, 1922, 4°, with 98 reproductions, $2.00).

The prints of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries preserved in French libraries and art galleries have up till now been the least known. Therefore, amateurs of old prints welcomed the periodical, *Les Trésors des Bibliothèques de France,* commenced at Paris, 1925, by Messieurs R. Cantinelli and A. Boinet. Until 1928 eight quarto volumes appeared containing studies on and reproductions of little known manuscripts, prints, illustrations of books, bindings, drawings and other art objects, which are treasured in the libraries of France. Some masterpieces hitherto hidden in small provincial libraries are here reproduced for the first time; price, $4.00, each part.

The language of art as found in early printed books presents many puzzling problems. L. Volkmann was able to clear up a number of obscurities regarding the symbolism and emblematic representations which abound in fifteenth and sixteenth century books in his study, *Bilderschriften der Renaissance* (Leipzig, 1923, 4°, pp. 132, with 110 reproductions, $2.50). He is the pioneer in this field of research.

In this connection we mention the fact that woodcuts were used as bindings in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In 1895, P.

Kristeller first drew the attention of scholars to this custom of the early bookbinders in his article in *Bibliographica,* London, vol. I (1895), pp. 249-251. He only found one instance where prints were used for this purpose. Within recent years, however, a number of similar woodcut-book covers or "cartonnage" bindings have turned up. These are described by Leo Baer, *Mit Holzschnitten verzierte Buchumschlaege des 15. u. 16. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfort on the Main, 1923, 8vo, $5.25). The whereabouts of all extant examples are recorded. The edition of this study was limited to 200 copies.

The early prints which by numerous editions and exhibitions in art galleries have been made accessible to the general public will delight every lover of art and every cultured person of taste. By their variety of subjects they offer welcome material to the student of history, folklore, literature, science, and Catholic life and manners. Therefore, they should interest Catholics in the highest degree. The "holy prints" scattered broadcast over Europe on the eve of the Reformation and still preserved in thousands of original copies are the best apology of our faith. A cursory glance will reveal better than ponderous tomes, that the engravers of these cuts and their purchasers professed the same faith as the Catholics of to-day. These "holy prints" present the same truths as the Catholic pictures of our day, and brand as mendacious statements alleging a doctrinal change in the Catholic creed. Non-Catholic scholars and publishers who sacrifice time and money in reproducing these genuinely Catholic works of art perform an apologetical mission of no small measure. Though they pursue only esthetic ends, Catholics owe them a debt of gratitude best displayed by assisting them. For, truth to state, on the Catholic side there is much apathy. A century ago, Chateaubriand pointed out the great apologetical value of Catholic art, but found no disciples. Our modern textbooks would gain much in usefulness, if written along the lines of this great defender of our faith.

In this country the interest in medieval prints is gradually increasing. On March 2, 1929, Dr. Vollbehr of Berlin presented to the Library of Congress at Washington the collection of woodcuts brought together by Prof. W. L. Schreiber of Potsdam. This collection comprises 375 fifteenth century prints beside a great number of engravings of the great masters of the sixteenth century and later. May the woodcuts placed on public exhibition in our great national library rouse the interest of Catholics in the works of Catholic engravers of the past.

J. M. LENHART.

THE FRANCISCAN MUSEUM

The Franciscan Museum in the Sacro Convento in Assisi originated in the year 1880 in France, when the Capuchin, Louis Antoine Follete de Porrentruy (died 1912), began to collect artistic representations of St. Francis of Assisi. A connoisseur of keen ability, he succeeded in a comparatively short time in making a valuable collection of Franciscana which were first employed in illustrating the superb edition of the *Vie de St. François d'Assise,* published in Paris in 1885 by the French Capuchins, Leopold de Cherance, Henry de Grezes, Ubald de Chanday, Arsenius de Chatel, Gabriel de Courbouzon, and the aforenamed Louis Antoine Follete de Porrentruy. The representations of St. Francis which had been produced by painters, engravers, sculptors, and textile-workers were reproduced in the *Vie de St. François* by engraving, by chromotype, and by heliograph. The illustrations number almost three hundred and include reproductions of Giotto, Fra Angelico, Andrea della Robbia, Simone di Martino, Sans di Pietro, Raphael, Benouville, Flandrin, Murillo, Alfonso Cano, Van Eyck, Rembrandt, and others. The work was so well done that it was hailed with delight by artists, both Catholic and non-Catholic. The artistic portion of the book was the work of Louis de Porrentruy, while the text was the result of the combined efforts of his fellow Capuchins.

Upon completion of the work, the models which had served for the illustrations were safely stored in the Capuchin Monastery at Marseilles. In the meantime Louis de Porrentruy extended the scope of his work and began to collect everything that bore any reference whatsoever to St. Francis, *e. g.,* drawings, woodcarvings, copper-plates, metal work, ivories, miniatures, embroidery, tapestry, seals, chinaware, medals, coins, manuscripts, early prints, etc. Before taking its place in the museum every article was carefully marked and catalogued. Until 1903 these valuable relics were treasured in a separate building adjoining the Capuchin monastery at Marseilles. So precious was the collection that Pope Leo XIII on December 20, 1895, published a brief prohibiting under pain of excommunication the alienation of anything from this museum. In 1903, when confiscation by the French government threatened the museum, the most important and valuable articles were transferred to the Capuchin monastery at Rome

where they were frequently viewed and studied by artists and professors including cardinals, bishops and prelates. The museum grew rapidly owing to the gifts of eminent donors such as Cardinal di Cabrières, and also as a result of other monasteries yielding up a variety of artistic Franciscana. Most of the pieces preserved are real works of art and many are of exquisite beauty.

When the Capuchins acquired their friary in Assisi in 1926, the Franciscan Museum was transferred to this more suitable abode. The collection has steadliy increased and now consists of nearly twenty thousand pieces, all of which bear some distinct reference to the Poverello or his Order. Surely no better proof can be forthcoming to show that St. Francis is the subject of art. Indeed, he has inaugurated a new movement in art, as that eminent authority, Emil Make, boldly asserts: "At the end of the thirteenth century, we notice both in literature and art a surprisingly new movement. Sentiment which had hitherto been restrained expands and rises. If you would find the source of this tenderness and piety, go to Assisi. St. Francis has had a revelation of Jesus Christ in His suffering humanity and this is the character of the saint's piety. His heart beats at the foot of the cross and suffers in contemplating the passion of Christ. This is the source of the pathetic element which at this epoch enters into Christian art. Heretofore, Christ was represented even on the cross as a teacher, a priest, a king with long tunic and glittering crown. Henceforth there is a change. The human side of the Crucified appears and in all scenes of His passion is seen the dolorous and awful reality which excites the compassion of the faithful." Thus St. Francis has imparted the human element to the eternal sources of art: God and Nature. Seeing the Creator in all creatures, Francis calls them brothers and sisters. To him nature is a poem in which God is the refrain. A great enchanter of souls, Francis, with the rousing music of his example, his preaching and his apostolic life, has inspired works of art as has no other.

CLAUDE VOGEL.

BOOK REVIEWS

History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis in its Various Stages of Development from A. D. 1673 to A. D. 1928. By Rev. JOHN ROTHENSTEINER, Archivist of the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis. Two volumes. (St. Louis: The Author. 1928. Pp. xviii, 859; xii, 840. $10.00.)

The Archdiocese of St. Louis is to be congratulated on the publication of the two stately volumes of history inspired by its Catholic Historical Society. Established in 1917 by His Grace, the Most Rev. John J. Glennon, D. D., the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis has ever since been collecting and preserving all materials relating both to the archdiocese and to all other places associated with its primitive ecclesiastical division. Since December, 1918, the committee on publication, including the Rev. Fathers Charles Souvay, C. M., D. D., F. G. Holweck, Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., John Rothensteiner, and Mr. Edward Brown, has published the five volumes of the *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review* and many articles in other reviews. The culminating achievement of the society, however, is the present *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis* by the Rev. John Rothensteiner, who had the gigantic task of digesting and casting into the present volumes the mass of materials gathered. The work is all the more astonishing when it is remembered that the author undertook this burden in his sixty-sixth year and as a busy pastor confronted with important problems of church and school. After three years of persistent study and research he has at last presented these two worthy volumes to the public.

The work, though consisting of two volumes, is divided into three parts as follows: Part I, The Era of Preparation; Part II, The Diocese of St. Louis; and Part III, The Archdiocese of St. Louis. Part I contains a detailed account of the missionary activity of the Jesuits, Recollects, priests of the Seminary of Quebec, Capuchins, Carmelites, Trappists, and other zealous priests who carried the light of the faith into the forests primeval. Though Father Jacques Marquette and Louis Jolliet had in 1673 penetrated into the heart of the Mississippi Valley and established missions among the Kaskaskia and Peoria Indians, it was the gallant Robert Cavelier Sieur de La Salle who in 1682 took possession of the vast country, naming it

Louisiana in honor of Louis XIV, King of France. With La Salle were three Recollects, Louis Hennepin, Gabriel Ribourde, who was murdered by an Iroquois Indian, and Zenobius Mambré. In 1690, Bishop Saint-Vallier of Quebec entrusted the missions of the Illinois in Upper Louisiana to the Jesuits under Father Gravier as vicar-general. In 1722, the Commissioners of the Council of New Orleans with the consent of the Bishop of Quebec made the first ecclesiastical division of the Mississippi Valley, dividing it into three jurisdictions. The first comprised the district to the west of the Mississippi from the Gulf of Mexico to the point of entry of the Ohio River. The churches and missions of this district were given to the Capuchins of Champagne, France, whose superior was to reside in New Orleans and be vicar-general in his district. The second embraced all the country north of the Ohio and was assigned to the Jesuits whose superior living in Illinois was to be vicar-general in his district. The third included all the territory east of the Mississippi and it was given to the Carmelites whose superior in Mobile was vicar-general for his territory. Since the Carmelites had promptly appealed to Rome for a brief of prefecture, the French, swayed by Gallican views, recalled them to France and united their district to that of the Capuchins.

The two missionary communities, the Capuchins and Jesuits, worked zealously in their respective fields. In 1763, the Jesuits were expelled from the colony after their suppression by several governments of Europe. A year after their expulsion St. Louis was founded by Laclede-Liguest, a trader with the Indians. Seeking a more advantageous point, he removed his merchandise from Fort Chartres and built a warehouse on the west bank of the Mississippi. He was soon followed by other traders, *voyageurs*, and *coureurs de bois* who settled in the neighborhood. In the early part of April, 1764, Laclede planned the streets for the new village, fixed the place for his own house, and assigned one block for the church and another for a barracks. The foundation was named St. Louis, in honor of St. Louis, the patron saint of the King of France.

Although no priest attended the dedication of the little village, owing to the expulsion of the Jesuits, nevertheless, in 1766 we find a Jesuit, Father Meurin, one of the two tolerated in the country, ministering at odd intervals in St. Louis. He is called the pioneer priest of St. Louis. The first resident priest of St. Louis was the Capuchin, Father Valentine of New Orleans. He cannot be called the first

canonical pastor because he was merely chaplain to the French garrison and missionary to the people. The first canonical pastor was Father Bernard of Limpach, a German Capuchin of New Orleans. He was appointed pastor of St. Louis by Father Dagobert, Capuchin vicar-general at New Orleans, on February 18, 1776. After a ninety-day trip up the Mississippi from New Orleans, he was solemnly installed as pastor on Sunday morning, May 19, 1776. The author gives us a picture of Father Bernard that recalls Father Felician of *Evangeline* fame:

> We may well picture to ourselves the tall dignified figure of the Capuchin friar, in his habit of brown with a heavy beaded rosary dangling from his girdle, and a kindly smile on his large, open countenance, walking along one of the streets of the village, now stopping at a shop to speak a word of cheer to the master, who has just lost his wife, then passing on to one of the block-houses to visit some sick person, then coming out of the door, and making a profound bow to one of the aristocrats of the village, we see him suddenly surrounded by a noisy band of children, who insistently plead with their "Father" that he come and play with them. Now from the next house comes a silvery voice of greeting. It is the chanter's daughter and one of the singers too. And so his morning walk continues until it is time for the usual catechism class. What a quiet, happy life he leads in this homely village full of blessed peace. There is no fear in the hearts of his people: there is only reverence and childlike affection.

Under Father Bernard the parish grew and soon had four other missions attached to it, *viz.*, Carondelet, St. Ferdinand or Florissant, St. Charles, and Portage des Sioux. Father Bernard retained the pastorate till 1789, when upon his own request he was relieved. He was succeeded by Father Le Dru of Kaskaskia, probably a priest of the Seminary of Quebec.

The province of Louisiana came into the possession of the United States on December 20, 1803, when France ceded it for the sum of fifteen million dollars. Fifty thousand souls, mostly of the Catholic faith, were now added to the struggling Church of America. As Archbishop Carroll found the field too extensive for his control, with the permission of Propaganda he appointed administrators for the Church of Louisiana and the Floridas, to reside in New Orleans. This arrangement continued till 1815, when the Sulpician, William Du Bourg, was appointed Bishop of Louisiana. He was consecrated in the Church of St. Louis, France, on September 24, 1815. On his return to America, finding conditions in New Orleans disturbed owing

to trusteeism and also to a misunderstanding between ecclesiastical authorities, the bishop obtained permission to transfer for a time his residence from New Orleans to St. Louis in Upper Louisiana. He arrived there in 1818.

Bishop Du Bourg will be gratefully remembered for bringing the Lazarist missionaries to St. Louis. With their coöperation, especially that of the saintly Father Felix de Andreis and Father Joseph Rosati, the bishop established an ecclesiastical seminary known as St. Mary's of the Barrens. The St. Louis University was also begun under Du Bourg. The administration of the bishop lasted from 1815 to 1826, when the vast diocese of New Orleans was divided; Du Bourg went to New Orleans and Rosati to St. Louis. Previous to the division Father Rosati had been consecrated coadjutor to Du Bourg in the Church of the Ascension at Donaldsonville, Louisiana, on March 25, 1824. The Rev. L. Sibourd and Father Anthony de Sedella, rector of the Cathedral of New Orleans, fulfilled by dispensation the offices of assistant consecrators.

The long period of Rosati's administration, from 1826 to 1847, was crowded with missionary activity both among the settlers and among the natives. The diocese was vast and included Missouri, Arkansas, western Illinois, Nebraska, Indian Territory, Oklahoma, and even the unexplored areas east and west of the Rocky Mountains. With minute detail Father Rothensteiner treats the early history of the Church in Chicago, Kansas City, Galena, Dubuque, Prairie du Chien, Quincy, and other points as far distant as Oregon. Noteworthy are Rosati's efforts in behalf of education, which led him to introduce into the diocese the Sisters of Charity, the Visitandines and the Sisters of St. Joseph. The Sisters of Charity merit the distinction of having had charge of the first hospital west of the Mississippi, established in 1831 by Bishop Rosati through the munificence of Mr. John Mullanphy. In 1834, Rosati finished the building of his cathedral, having been assisted by the Holy Father, Pope Gregory XVI, who donated three thousand dollars in gold. The Society for the Propagation of the Faith in France and the Leopoldine Institute of Austria were also liberal donors. The cathedral was consecrated on October 26, 1834, and to this day is an attractive landmark of St. Louis.

Bishop Rosati was succeeded by Peter Richard Kenrick, brother of Francis Patrick, Archbishop of Baltimore. He was consecrated on

November 30, 1841, as coadjutor to Bishop Rosati. Archbishop Kenrick was a pious and highly gifted man. Among other works, he wrote *The Validity of Anglican Ordinations,* remarkable for being the first comprehensive treatise in America on the subject. It appeared in 1841, fifty-five years before the Church took up the question; nevertheless, the author displays a clearness of vision and a fulness of learning that are remarkable. It is no less surprising that while the pope dealt with the question from the doctrinal standpoint and Kenrick from the historical, both reached the conclusion that Anglican Orders are invalid. A chapter from this work, which is now very rare, has been incorporated into the *Cursus Completus Theologicus,* by Abbé Migne.

If Rosati had the distinction of being the first Bishop of St. Louis, Kenrick had the honor of being its first archbishop. Upon the recommendation of the Fathers of the Sixth Council of Baltimore in May, 1846, the See of St. Louis was raised to the dignity of an archdiocese with Peter Richard Kenrick as metropolitan of the province. During his long incumbency he put forth his best efforts for the spiritual and material development of his see. He introduced no less than ten religious Sisterhoods: the Ursulines in 1848; the Sisters of the Good Shepherd in 1849; the Sisters of Mercy in 1856; the School Sisters of Notre Dame in 1858; the Carmelites in 1863; the Little Sisters of the Poor in 1869; the Sisters of St. Mary in 1872; the Sisters of St. Francis in 1872; the Oblate Sisters in 1880; and the Sisters of the Precious Blood in 1882. Besides the sisterhoods, he welcomed to St. Louis the Brothers of the Christian Schools in 1849 and the Alexian Brothers for hospital work in 1869. The Franciscans of the Province of the Sacred Heart was admitted in 1858. Father Rothensteiner gives a succinct history of the Franciscan province as well as of those of the Jesuits and Redemptorists.

Undoubtedly one of the most interesting subjects treated by the author is the part which Archbishop Kenrick had in the Vatican Council. It is well known that the Archbishop of St. Louis was opposed to the promulgation of the dogma of papal infallibility. In the famous *Concio Petri Ricardi Kenrick, Archiepiscopi S. Ludovici in Statibus Foederatis Americae Septentrionalis in Concilio Vaticano Habenda at non Habita,* which he published at Naples during the Council, he propounded the theory of the infallibility of the bishops united with the pope. We of a later day with the clear and precise

definition of the council before us may think it strange that a churchman of such genuine piety and strict orthodoxy as Archbishop Kenrick should oppose papal infallibility in the face of the bishops of the world. But Kenrick was a student with the courage of his convictions and as he and his fellow-bishops were met for free discussion, he employed all lawful means to have his opinion prevail. But when the final decision was given he bowed in obedience to the voice of authority. Later Pope Pius IX is reported to have said: "Monsignor Kenrick is a great man, but he is as pious as he is great, and he is as orthodox as he is pious and great." And Pope Leo XIII spoke the following: "The Metropolitan of St. Louis was a noble man and a true Christian bishop. When he sat in Council as a judge of the faith he did according to his conscience, and the moment the decision was taken, although it was against him, submitted with the filial piety of a Catholic Christian."

Archbishop Kenrick was succeeded by Archbishop John Joseph Kain in 1895. The administration of Archbishop Kain lasted eight years, in the course of which he secured the ground for the present cathedral, held the Third Synod of St. Louis, and in general continued the efforts for spiritual and material growth begun by his predecessors. In 1903, the present incumbent, Archbishop John Joseph Glennon began his administration which rivals that of all his illustrious predecessors. He built the magnificent Cathedral of St. Louis, the pride of the Middle West, if not of the entire country. His work for the public weal as manifested in Father Dempsey's Hotel for homeless men, the Newsboys' Home which he sponsored, and above all, the colonization movement which he inaugurated to draw colonists from the overcrowded cities to the fertile fields of Missouri, are not the least of his many achievements for which he will be distinguished.

The history of the Archdiocese of St. Louis as told by Father Rothensteiner is characterized by thoroughness and truthfulness. Here is a wonderful assembly of data gleaned from a bibliography amazing in its extent. Throughout the work the author is always the impartial historian. However, as historical studies are constantly progressing, it is but natural that now and then long accepted conclusions must be revised. This is true in regard to some of the early pages of the present work. For instance, on page 68, note 8, the author says that the Jesuit, Father de Beaubois, was appointed vicar-general for Louisiana by the Bishop of Quebec. The Jesuit was not

appointed vicar-general for Louisiana but only for Upper Louisiana, that is, for the Jesuit mission. True, Father de Beaubois pretended to have an appointment to that effect, but the investigation of his claims by Father Raphael, Capuchin vicar-general of Lower Louisiana, Monsignor de Mornay, coadjutor of Quebec, and the Abbé Raguet, ecclesiastical director of the Company of the West, proved the falsity of his claim. (*Cf.* the reviewer's *Capuchins in French Louisiana, 1722-1766*, chapters VII and VIII, Washington, D. C., 1928.) Again on page 75 the author, following the old sources, takes it for granted that the Jesuits were permitted a residence in New Orleans in 1723. This statement made by the *Catholic Encyclopedia* and by practically all historians who refer to the subject, is incorrect. The Jesuits were authorized to reside in New Orleans only in 1726 and in a very restricted capacity. (*Cf. ibid.*, pp. 92-94.) But these few inaccuracies, like the few foreign drops in the pure element, cannot detract from the value of the contribution as a whole. Extensive in scope, it must ever remain a necessary source for a wide circle of future historians.

CLAUDE L. VOGEL, O. M. Cap.

La Politica de Benedicto XIII desde la Substraccion de Aragon a su Obediencia hasta su Destitucion en el Concilio de Constanza (Enero de 1416 a Julio de 1417). By JOSE ANTONIO RUBIO. (Zamora: Hijo de M. Rodriguez. 1926. Pp. 90.)

As a subject for the doctorate in philosophy at the University of Freiburg, this dissertation deals solely with the withdrawal of support of the cause of Benedict XIII on the part of the House of Aragon. In that respect it is a valuable contribution to the history of the Council of Constance (1414-1418), which terminated the Great Western Schism. Much has been written in connection with this epoch-marking Council, but it is probably safe to say that even more remains to be written before there can be an approach to a full understanding of the divergent emotions, ambitions, and the sincerity, that dominated that great gathering. The writer of the present monograph had the special advantage of working under the direction of one who is possibly the most eminent living authority on the subject of the Council of Constance, Doctor Heinrich Finke of Freiburg.

The importance of the incident of which the present writer treats can be understood when it is realized that the withdrawal of the sup-

port of Aragon, which in effect meant the principalities of the Spanish Peninsula, Navarre, and Naples, gave assurance to the Council that the third of the contending popes might be deposed without fear of alienating a goodly portion of western Christendom from allegiance to the Council. John XIII had been deposed by the Council and Gregory XII had resigned, there remained only to secure the resignation of Benedict XIII and the Western Schism which had divided Christendom for nearly forty years could be brought to a close, and a pope, whom all would acknowledge, might then be elected who could command the allegiance of all. The Emperor Sigismund, as emissary for the Council, did not succeed in bringing about the resignation of Benedict. But through the treaty of Narbonne which he negotiated with Alphonse of Aragon, Sigismund destroyed the last vestige of support that the Spanish claimant to the papacy held. The treaty also made it possible for delegates from the peninsula to attend the Council and there they allied themselves with the French and Italian nations against English and German nations in nearly every question that came up for settlement. As it will be remembered this Council adopted the unique practice of voting by nations in an ecclesiastical assembly and consequently the entrance of the peninsula delegates gave the nations of southern Europe an advantage in every vote.

Most interesting however in the monograph of Doctor Rubio is the partial apology for the Spanish claimant. One hesitates to accept or oppose with finality any conclusion relative to those who were associated with the Council of Constance since so much remains to be published. But the documents that are available point to a fault in Benedict which, as much as any other factor, contributed to prolong the schism, namely, his indomitable, misguided will, his stubbornness in opposing what to all others appeared right. We need not accept the conclusions of the author in regard to Benedict XIII, but tribute must be paid to a worthy contribution towards a complete history of the Council of Constance.

GEORGE C. POWERS, A. F. M.

The History of Maryland. By MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS. (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran. 1929. Pp. 721. $7.25.)

The third centenary of the foundation of Maryland is fast approaching. Already the Governor of the State has appointed a committee to work out a suitable program for the celebration of this national

and international phase of our history, and private associations are elaborating plans for the festivities of March 25, 1934. The above facts make a new history of Maryland timely; and the volume of Mr. Andrews will be compared to the old classics which have treated of Maryland in colonial and post-revolutionary periods.

That the author enters seriously upon his task and realizes that he has difficulties to encounter is evident from the opening passage of the first page of this large work: "It may be said that the foundation of Maryland represents the fruition of an idea; and the plan of settlement offered a solution for the most difficult political and social problem of the Christian era." Strong words are these! But did Maryland face "the most difficult political and social problem of the Christian era?" As a problem did it equal that which came to the Church after the breaking up of the empire of Constantine, or during the pontificate of Gregory VII, or the exile of the popes at Avignon? In modern times does it measure up to the revolt of Luther, or the terrors of the French Revolution, or the loss of the Temporal Power in 1870? We think not, and while not minimizing the importance of the movement in Maryland, we cannot agree with the author that the settlement of Maryland looked to the solution of the greatest problem of the Christian era.

Moreover, the author does not set forth any proofs of his claims. Here was a chance for Mr. Andrews to search out the critical periods of the past and to compare them with those of Maryland. We rather looked to a development of the comparison which Mr. Andrews made in his initial sentence. Here he lost a splendid opportunity. Far from developing his theme, he seems to have forgotten it entirely. Nowhere in the volume does this "most important problem" appear. It is lost in the recital of insignificant facts. The treatment of the subject falls far below the dignified and inspiring pages of the first edition of Bancroft.

Religious tolerance in Maryland, while significant and far-reaching in its results, was only one of many phases in the history of the Church. It was of so little importance in the opinion of Vermeersch that he devotes but four lines to the subject in his classic volume on tolerance.

We have dwelt upon this failure of Mr. Andrews to develop what he set down as an important issue, because it is an example of the chief weakness of the work. Throughout this large volume of 700

pages there is no effort made to set forth the principal events in a striking way. There is a dull sameness throughout the book, and often events of trifling importance claim for themselves long and continuous development.

Mr. Andrews has endeavored to be fair and accurate in treating of that period of colonial history which bears upon the disputed points of religious toleration. He freely gives the palm to the Baltimores. Moreover, he shows that freedom of religious practice in Rhode Island was only in name: "The religious liberty allowed in Rhode Island was in theory very broad, and in advance of all the earlier colonies except Maryland; but it was limited by the fact that, in the words of Roger Williams, citizenship was granted from the first *to such as the major part of us should admit to fellowship.* By this *major part,* Jews and Catholics were consequently denied this fellowship, so that Rhode Island offered religious freedom in theory, coupled, however, with restrictions in its political applications. In Maryland, by order of the Proprietary, political privileges were in nowise restricted by religious predilection in actual practice [p. 155]."

We are of the opinion that more space should have been given to the injustices which the Catholics suffered in the colony which they had founded. It has been our privilege to visit some of the old mansions in Maryland which date back to colonial times and to learn from the owners that Mass had been said in every room of the dwelling. This recalled a time when every opportunity of practicing their religion was denied to the Catholics of Maryland. There were laws intended to prevent priests from saying Mass, from teaching catechism, from exercising any Catholic function, from keeping school, or even from converting Protestants. After suppressing all Catholics schools at home, an effort was made to pass a law forbidding the education of Catholics in schools of their own creed abroad. Catholics were forced to support the ministers of the English Church, while at the same time they were refused the liberty of practicing their own religion. Many of these ministers were court favorites utterly unworthy of their calling. They spent their time not only in amusements such as fox-hunting and horseback riding, but in gambling and drunkenness. Almost at the dawn of the Revolutionary War, no one who held an office could be present at any Catholic assembly, or join with Catholics at the service of the Mass, or

receive the Sacraments. Catholics could not hold office, nor could they exercise the right of voting. So heavy was the yoke which pressed upon the Catholics, that we find them negotiating with the Spanish ambassador to leave the colony and settle in some province under Spanish dominion. We do not accuse Mr. Andrews of deliberately concealing these facts, but certainly he should have devoted more space to their recital.

Cecil Calvert never saw the colony which his father, the first Lord Baltimore, planned. It is not surprising that he met with problems in directing a colony at such a distance and at a time when communications were so unsatisfactory; neither should it be surprising that he failed to understand the difficulties of the missionaries who accompanied the expedition. The Jesuits not only attended to the spiritual needs of the settlers, but they at once set to work for the conversion of the natives. Their labors could not be carried out without financial help, and the Jesuit, Father Copley, insisted on the proprietary's complying with the conditions under which the work was begun. Space does not permit us to go into the question here, but the summary of the difficulties as given on pages 104 and 105 of Andrews is far from a correct statement.

As we write this review, there comes to our desk a circular from the "Maryland History Committee" for the Three Hundredth Anniversary of the Founding of Maryland (712 Keyser Building, Baltimore, Md.), urging local assemblymen to place copies of the Andrews's history in all school libraries of the state, and claiming for the book that: "For the first time, the people of Maryland may turn to a documented and indexed history of the State brought up to date, and issued from the press of a publishing house of international reputation." But, as is evident from what we have written, the book is not entirely satisfactory for those who wish to get the facts about colonial history.

Throughout the book there is a certain looseness of treatment which seems unworthy of historical writing. Repetitions, too, abound, and the frequent use of such terms as, "as stated," and "previously pointed out" mar the style of the narrative.

In the treatment of contemporary personages and events it would seem that Cardinal Gibbons should have been given at least a passing notice.

All the chapters are carefully annotated and the book shows evidence

of diligent study. The references are copious, and the maps and illustrations are aptly chosen.

HENRY S. SPALDING, S. J.

Introduction Historique au cours de morale Générale. Par ED. JANSSENS, Professeur à l'Université de Liége. (Louvain et Liége. 1927. Pp. 108.)

This is an excellent summary of the principal systems of ethics which have been excogitated throughout history. It comprises two chapters, each of them being appropriately subdivided. The four sections of the first chapter deal with egoistic theories, altruistic theories, the theories of ontological and rational perfection, and the formalistic theories. The second chapter presents a critical examination of the systems previously reviewed and expounded. Under egoistic systems fall hedonism, utilitarianism, and the doctrine of Nietzsche; under the altruistic theories are grouped the doctrines of sentiment and the altruistic theories, properly so-called. The chief names illustrating the systems of ontological and rational perfection are those of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and St. Thomas Aquinas, while the formalistic moralists that find treatment are the Cynics, Stoics, Kant, and Renouvier.

At the beginning of chapter two the author points out that the fundamental problem of ethics is presented in the questions "What is the good?" and "What is nature?" Ethical systems differ mainly because of the different answers which they return to these questions. While Kant seems to be an exception to this generalization, inasmuch as the essential moral question which he asked was "What is duty," nevertheless his ultimate object was to arrive at a definition of the good.

Perhaps the most interesting part of this little volume is the statement and discussion of the differences between the ethics of Aquinas and the ethics of Aristotle. The former developed and improved upon the latter's system by supplying a sound ultimate basis for the good and for obligation; by giving proper weight to intention or motive; by adequately specifying the sovereign good and the ultimate end; by likewise defining the life of contemplation; by accurately distinguishing between pleasure and happiness and by defining the essence of genuine beatitude.

"In St. Thomas the ethical edifice of Aristotle remains, but there is perhaps more finish and precision in its lines; Aquinas has sharpened each part of it with his penetrating thought; just as the Gothic builders fashioned their window cross-pieces and their arches with small and accurate chisels. But above all, he has extended the foundations to the ultimate depths, since they end in the eternal life beyond death and in the infinitude of the divine Mind."

JOHN A. RYAN.

L'Islam naissant. Notes psychologiques. By MICHAEL D'HERBIGNY, S. J. (Roma: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum. 1929. Pp. 181, 323.)

One of the most interesting and, at the same time, baffling of personalities in the history of religions is Mohammed—the father of Islam. Any study that seeks to explain the success or failure of such a personality is well worth examining. Such a study is not made without danger; it must be prosecuted neither with prejudice nor undertaken in a spirit of blind hero-worship. A cautious and circumspect criticism must seek a course between a skepticism tinged with prejudice and a generosity touched with blindness to a purely historical viewpoint. This the author of the present monograph seeks to do by penetrating into the soul of Mohammed and analyzing the various motives out of which grew his religious system. The personality of Mohammed is more complex and at the same time more simple than at first sight appears. It cannot be defined by extremes either of sincerity or trickery. He was sincere in the beginning of his mission although less honest at its close. But his system was not the result of pondered calculation nor conscious jugglery. It grew with Mohammed. Orientated at first towards God, it finally centered in Mohammed himself. Overcome by his power with men, moved by his success with women, Mohammed late in his career interpreted everything in relation to his own feelings and sentiments. His rule of life, essentially theocentric and theocratic, becomes later on egocentric and autocratic. The author sees in this change neither conscious trickery nor unqualified sincerity. Skepticism, fear, and superstition motivated many of his less sincere acts. His mission was a success, if personal aggrandizement be a success, but a failure if viewed from

rigorous fidelity to principle. Of Moslems he made his followers Mohammedans. Ultimate success will come when Islam rigorously applies that earlier and truer principle of Mohammed, "absolute submission to the will of God alone."

J. S. C.

Liber Memorialis Ordinis Fratrum Minorum S. Francisci Capuccinorum (1528-1928). Editus jussu Ministri Generalis R^mi^. P. MELCHIORIS A BENISA. (Romae apud Curiam Generalem. 1928. Pp. xvii, 431.)

This impressive volume was edited by a number of eminent writers on the occasion of the four hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the Order. The Latin and the foremost modern languages, French, Italian, German, Spanish, English, are represented in the stately tome. Though not *ex professo* a history of the Capuchin Order, many items of valuable historical information are found on every page. The first part, entitled *Documenta Officialia* (pp. i-xvii), contains congratulatory letters sent to the Minister General by Pope Pius XI, by the Cardinal Protector di Belmonte, by the Superiors General of the Friars Minor, the Friars Minor Conventual, the Jesuits, the Dominicans, and by the Patriarch of Armenia in the name of all the bishops of that country. The letters are couched in the most commendatory terms, the General of the Jesuits promising four hundred Masses to be said by the members of the society for the welfare of the Capuchins.

A brief résumé of the activity of the Capuchins is that of Fr. Fredegand of Antwerp, *L'Apostolat des Frères-Mineurs Capuchins* (pp. 1-51). The chief element of the Capuchin apostolate the author finds in "preaching" which from the start was "frankly apostolic", in strong contrast to worn-out formulas and pulpit bombast, and withal the first to set the pace for realizing the program of reform enjoined by the Council of Trent. Perhaps the main secret of their success was the *Quarant' Ore,* which since 1535 the friars preached wherever they went. This furnished the peculiar training that caused the Capuchin sermons to conquer the most hardened hearts. No less stirring was the "Eloquence of the *Capuchin Ass*", exemplified by the lovable Felix of Cantalice and in him by the Capuchin lay-brother who in the lanes and streets of Catholic Europe is one of the most familiar figures. The second part of Fr. Fredegand's essay deals

with the foreign missionary activity of the Capuchins. This phase might have been omitted, since the historian of the missions, Fr. Clement of Terzorio, devotes to it an entire article in his *Fino ai Termini del Mondo con la Croce* (pp. 285-327). When one thinks of the author's large work, *Le Missioni dei Minori Cappuccini*, seven volumes to date, the present essay is indeed but a *rapido sguardo*. Suffice it to learn that since 1886 the number of foreign missionaries in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Oceanica has increased from 350 to 1,205. In *I Primi Conventi dei Frati Minori Cappuccini* (pp. 53-74), Fr. Emidio of Ascoli describes the first simple dwellings of the Capuchins (1528-1548). With the Province of the Marshes every historian is familiar; the lacunae that should have been filled out concern the precise location of the first convents in the provinces of Naples, Milan, Calabria, Rome, Venice, Tuscany, and Sicily, all of which existed as early as the year 1536. Beyond what we know already the author tells us nothing new.

A scholarly article is contributed to the *Liber Memorialis* by Fr. Hilarin Felder, and another by Fr. Edward of Alençon (d. 1928). The first, *Die Studien im Ersten Jahrhundert des Kapuzinerordens* (pp. 79-130), sheds light on a very dark page of the story of the Capuchins. Hitherto it has been claimed that, taken as a body, the early friars were a set not merely of simple-minded men, but of simpletons. The essay of Dr. Felder, based on accurate historical evidence, is quite sufficient and shows how inexorable were the superiors and lectors in excluding cleric upon cleric from the office of preaching, because their philosophical and theological knowledge did not rise to the high standard set by them. We also see that the texts were almost invariably the teachings of St. Bonaventure. It is to be hoped that in a future study the eminent author of *Die Studien im Franziskanerorden* will trace the course of studies in the Capuchin Order since 1643. The second comparative study by Fr. Edward of Alençon, *Primigeniae Legislationis Ord. FF. Min. Capuccinorum* (pp. 333-430), reprints the earliest printed Constitutions of 1536, lost for four hundred years and but recently (1927) discovered in the library of Locarno. We see that the legislation of the order has undergone very little, if any, material change from the day of its inception until now.

Not all the articles, as might be expected in a work from different pens, are on the same high literary plane. In *Influencia de la Re-*

forma Capuchina en el Modo de Representar a San Francisco en la Pintura (pp. 175-229), Fr. Augustine of Albocacer traces the influence on "St. Francis in Art" caused by the coming and presence of the Capuchins. *Fra Matteo da Bascio* (English, pp. 75-78) by Father Cuthbert is not an historical but rather a mystico-psychological tract and might better be entitled the "Genius or Spirit of the Early Capuchins"; it presents nothing new, is a reworking of the article "Capuchins" in the *Catholic Encyclopedia,* and somehow seems out of place in the present work. The fruits of holiness in the order, six canonized saints and twelve beatified, are admirably described in *La Saintété dans l'Ordre des Frères-Mineurs Capucins* (pp. 231-284), by Fr. Ernest-Marie of Beaulieu, the author of the fine biography of Père Marie-Antoine of Toulouse. A list of, and data on, the many Capuchin candidates for the altar would have proved interesting. An article similar in scope is the reprint and commentary of *La Vita dei Primi Cappuccini* (pp. 131-173), from the chronicle of Bernardine of Colpetrazzo (1514-1594), furnished by Fr. Fredegand and now published for the first time from the manuscript in the general archives of the order. Comparative statistics on page 332 yield the following membership for approximately each 100 years: 500 friars in 1536; 18,948 friars in 1633; 32,821 friars in 1754; 7,628 friars in 1888; 11,104 friars in 1927.

As stated, the *Liber Memorialis* is not a history, though it abounds in historical data. The recent work of Father Cuthbert (see this REVIEW, XV, 2, pp. 186-193) only extends to 1669, a few years further than Boverius's *Annales,* and brings little else of importance. A comprehensive history, not legends, needs yet to be written.

ANSCAR ZAWART, O. M. Cap.

Untersuchungen über die Prämonstratenser-Gewohnheiten. Von Dr. HUGO TH. HEIJMAN, O. Praem. (Tongerloo, Belgium). 1928. Verlag der Abtei.)

This book presents a critical and interesting study of the origin and development of the constitutions and statutes of the Premonstratensian Order founded by St. Norbert some eight hundred years ago.

To obtain a better understanding of this interesting study one must remember that the Saint's primary object in founding his Order was

to raise the standard of clerical living by combining the ecclesiastical state with the monastic element, an ideal which had been the constant aim of the Church since the days of the Apostles. The times appeared favorable and Premonstratensian foundations arose with incredible rapidity in every country of Europe. Numbers of individual clerics and even whole existing communities begged the Saint to be allowed to place themselves under his leadership, among the latter especially numerous diocesan cathedral chapters. St. Norbert was at the head of this growing movement (we can hardly call it as yet an organization) for only five years, when he became Archbishop of Magdeburg. Meanwhile the intimate friendship between St. Bernard and St. Norbert had led to the adoption of many Cistercian customs, while on the other hand St. Norbert had also been greatly influenced by the reform movement inaugurated by the famous Abbey of Hirschau and strictly observed in the Abbey of Bergen where the Saint spent much of his time.

With these thoughts in mind we can easily understand why Dr. Heijman begins by comparing and critically examining the earliest constitutions of Prémontré alongside the constitutions of Citeaux and Hirschau. The original constitutions that were drawn up by St. Norbert have never been found, hence those used are the ones written by Blessed Hugh of Fosse, St. Norbert's first disciple and companion. Blessed Hugh became head of the Order in 1126 when St. Norbert became archbishop.

The second part of the book goes more into detail concerning the inner life in the monastery. The author states what customs and constitutions are strictly Premonstratensian and continues comparing the rules of the early Norbertines with the rules and regulations observed in other houses of canons-regular.

Of especial interest is the last part of the book which treats on the early organization of the Order. This formidable task of unifying and reforming some old existing communities was left for the greater part to Blessed Hugh. For the sake of unity and uniformity he quite logically insisted on a general chapter to be held each year, but his insistence on this point soon became a source of trouble and discontent. Still it must be added that the general chapter of the Premonstratensians was designated by Blessed Hugh as a "Colloquium Visitandi Gratia" and did not by any means have the same significance a General Chapter had with the Cistercians.

The book is a reprint of a series of articles from the *Analecta Premonstratensia*, and the learned author deserves the gratitude not only of the friends of the Order but likewise of the historian.

C. J. KIRKFLEET, O. Praem.

Der Jansenismus in Deutschen Landen. Von Dr. WILHELM DEINHARDT. (Muenchen: Koesel-Pustet. Pp. 142.)

During the last three decades two eminent professors of history at the University of Munich exercised a great influence on young scholars: Dr. A. Knoepfler and Dr. G. Pfeilschifter. Under their direction students have published a number of monographs which were collected into two symposiums: *Veroeffentlichungen aus dem kirchenhistorischen Seminar Muenchen* and *Muenchener Studien zur historischen Theologie.* The latest contribution to this second collection is the volume here reviewed.

Dr. Deinhardt begins his study with a description of the development of Jansenism in France till the early eighteenth century. He lays special stress on the contact which later Jansenism had with Gallicanism and he proves his thesis in particular from the doctrines of Quesnel.

According to the investigations of the author this politico-religious Jansenism entered Germany first through Protestantism which showed at that time Pietistic tendencies. He proves that some Lutheran theologians became so enthusiastic over the Quesnelian propositions that they believed the time ripe for a union with this half-Calvinistic sect of the West against the Catholic doctrines, as expressed in the bull *Unigenitus.*

This led him to his main object: the influence of Jansenism on the Catholic Church in Germany. He divides this subject into two main periods: from the publication of the bull *Unigenitus* in 1713 till 1750, and from that time till the death of Emperor Joseph II, in 1790. From the sources on hand the author came to the conclusion that during the first part of that century German bishops, and theologians generally, considered Jansenism unimportant for their country and therefore purposely or prudently deemed it better policy to omit warnings to the common people. There were, however, a few who thought otherwise and the author refers especially to Dom Louis Babenstuber, O. S. B., Rev. Weichert Lewenberg, S. J., and Father Eusebius Amort,

O. S. A. But during the second part of that century Jansenism spread very rapidly in Germany. The author attributes this mainly to the prevalence of Josephinism and shows that its first center was Utrecht, then under Austrian rule, and that from that city it came directly to Vienna. How dangerous the heresy must have been for a time may be seen from the following conclusions reached by the author: the ecclesisatical advisers of Maria Theresa tried to introduce it into the Austrian seminaries; prelates, like Philip, Count of Spaur, Bishop of Brixen, defended it as a more reasonable moral code than the probabilism of Busenbaum; the Benedictines of Banz Abbey spread Jansenistic doctrines in their *Literaturblatt*; and a number of Jesuits, especially of Augsburg, increased its popularity by ill-timed controversial tracts.

The last chapter of the book contains an investigation of the efforts of Catholic theologians to counteract Jansenism in Germany during that period. In this the author calls special attention to the work of Bartin Gerbert, Abbot of St. Blasien.

There cannot be any doubt that Dr. Deinhardt's study will be well received by historians. The subject is sufficiently broad to interest also students outside of Germany, and it is treated scientifically enough to appeal to scholars. The writer uses only the printed sources, in order, as he says in his introduction, not to transgress certain limits which he had staked for his thesis, and in the selection of these documents he shows rare prudence.

P. Felix Fellner, O. S. B.

Medieval Foundations of Western Civilization. By George C. Sellery and A. C. Krey. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1929. Pp. xii, 633.)

"This book is intended to give the modern reader a background of familiarity with the medieval foundations of our contemporary Western civilization. For we of the Americas and of other lands settled by Europeans share Western civilization with Europe." Thus the authors speak in their preface; and the editor of the work adds that "despite all our modernity we betray our medieval origins, and we know ourselves better, the more we know of our heritage from the Europe this book reconstructs."

It is an instructive book. Following the trend of modern historiography it lays great stress on cultural, economic, and social conditions of the Middle Ages, and it does so with a great deal of fairness and moderation. The authors are not bent on condemnation. With evident cheerfulness they acknowledge the good in all the various institutions, customs, and movements. After uttering some severe general verdict they repeatedly warn the reader against exaggeration of the evil they are bound to censure. Thus after exposing the precarious conditions of the peasants they declare: "It would be a mistake to assume that the peasantry were altogether discontented with their lot. Among themselves they were not greatly conscious of limitations of their freedom. In fact there seems reason to believe that they were quite satisfied with their careers."

The authors succeed far better than many another medieval history in their endeavor to do justice to the medieval Church. They give credit to monks, clergy, and popes for a wholesome influence on morals, education, and civilization. It is the more unfortunate that untrue and inaccurate statements mar just the chapters and passages which treat of religion. A few of these we shall here try to set right.

The authors find the reason of the clash of Abelard with the Church authorities in his "exact methods", to which the older churchmen were not accustomed (p. 130). Abelard was not condemned for his methods of studying or teaching, but for what he taught, namely, for his errors on the Blessed Trinity. Moreover, Peter Lombard had based his *Book of Sentences* by no means exclusively on Abelard, whom he followed in his orthodox views only, but on several other authoritative works as well (pp. 130, 257). The sacrament of penance (p. 130) is indeed an excellent means for the individual Christian's personal advance in righteousness. But contrary to the opinion of the authors it is not, on account of the *seal of Confession*, of much use for the exterior discipline of the Church. The Great Western Schism did not in any way reopen the whole problem of all practical questions settled by St. Thomas Aquinas (p. 307). The authors think that in the centuries following the persecutions celibacy did very great harm to public welfare, since the best persons, namely, those who retired from the world, left no offspring—as if the cities and villages of the vast empire had been depopulated by the withdrawal of a few thousand hermits and monks—leaving aside the fact that by their prayer, example, and work they did other greater services to mankind (p. 17).

The old story that John Hus had received from King Sigismund, by the safe-conduct, the privilege of disregarding every lawful authority ought not to have been repeated again. Men ordained by bishops who are in opposition to a lawful pope are real priests (p. 307). King Henry IV's famous penance at Canossa is very incorrectly recorded (p. 105). Gregory VII absolved him from the excommunication in so far only as he was a private man, and left in full force the king's obligation to present himself at Augsburg for the settlement of the whole affair. Meanwhile the king was to abstain from all royal functions. Far from giving up the idea of going to Augsburg, Gregory wrote to the German princes that Henry was still bound to appear at that meeting. The rights claimed by Henry II of England in the Articles of Clarendon (p. 165) could never have been approved by the Church, neither before nor after the time of Gregory VII, nor in our own days. If any ruler at any time acted according to their spirit, the Church might be unable to prevent it, but could never approve it. It always was persecution pure and simple. Are we ever going to see the term "sale of indulgences" disappear from the pages of serious history? The authors seem to justify it by the assertion that not only the remission of temporal punishment but also the document "by which this remission is set forth" was called indulgence (p. 410). I am open to correction, but so far I have never seen the word indulgence used in this meaning, though I grant that it may have been so used by uneducated persons. At any rate history to be true must point out that the money connected with indulgences was never looked upon, by any responsible persons, as a price but as an alms, a work of charity. True history does not know of any "sale of indulgences." Luther did not spend "happy months" at the Wartburg (p. 413); Hartmann Grisar, S. J., in his *Luther* tells quite a different story. The statement that "Germany has not produced a greater man than Martin Luther" will be received with a broad smile by all those who know the real Luther, the man who preached rebellion against Fatherland and Church, who deprecated the wars against the Turk, and who stooped to the vilest slanders and unspeakably obscene caricatures to obtain his end.

In these and other points which it is impossible to mention we must raise serious objection to a book which otherwise possesses good qualities. A few passages referring to secular history should also be touched upon. It is very strange that the Magna Carta, one of the

most important products of the Middle Ages, is merely alluded to by the statement, "the next year saw John (Lackland) in trouble with his barons at Runnymede", which occurs as a side remark in a chapter on the rising power of France (p. 204). The simple reference to the Magna Carta in the reigns of James I (p. 495) and Charles I (p. 499) cannot make up for this serious omission. The authors seem to look upon the Crusades by far too much as an enterprise of the papacy, though the constant driving of the popes was certainly one of the great causes of the crusading movement. As here represented it was the speech of Urban II at Clermont, which started an undertaking of which evidently nobody had thought (pp. 107 ff.). Pope Urban II's address was indeed a firebrand, but no firebrand can cause a conflagration unless there is plenty of inflammable material. In other words, the minds of the people were prepared for such an enterprise. The crowds which listened to that powerful oration knew beforehand what was going to come. It was just this idea that had brought those immense multitudes together. Other facts and conditions had rendered them more than half ready to enter upon the pope's plan, which in fact had already been broached by Gregory VII. The authors entirely fail to account for this willingness. They fail even to allude to the numerous pilgrimages made since Constantine to the Holy Land, through which the knowledge of the deplorable conditions of Palestine was spread in the Occident. And if they mention one of them (p. 101), and state later on that the Crusades had given to them a new impetus, it is with no reference to the effect these journeys had on the formation of the armed pilgrimages which we call Crusades. Also the effects of the Crusades, so greatly beneficial to Europe and ourselves, should have been stressed more explicitly, though some are woven into the account of medieval commerce and other chapters. The mention given to Galileo lacks accuracy (p. 545). The construction of a telescope did not furnish him with a single proof for the heliocentric theory. The first real argument for this theory, based on the laws of motion, came in 1686, that is, forty-four years after Galileo's death. (See Betten, *Historical Terms and Facts*, pp. 77 ff.)

From these notes, referring only to a part of the points which cause surprise in the book, it will have been noticed that the authors go beyond 1500, the recognized end of the Middle Ages. They do so, not because they mean to "indicate a wilful indifference to the customary periodization", but because they thought they were "impelled to

round out their survey with a study of the working out of the most significant and influential results of medieval effort". About one-third of the book is devoted to this period. This step in a way is regrettable, since the authors are thereby forced to recount the undoing of splendid institutions and beliefs, the power of which they set forth in the strictly medieval part. These years were rather a period of destruction. Many of the ideas and sentiments which during the Middle Ages strongly made for law and order, for unity and harmony among individuals and nations, were cast aside and not replaced by anything equally efficient. By the application of principles strange to medieval man, a society gradually arose which was in many ways different from that of the "great thousand years". Thus it is that the heritage of the Middle Ages has not come to us unimpaired but deteriorated by the events which happened during this subsequent period.

F. S. BETTEN, S. J.

Mission Tours—Africa, in series with *Mission Tours—India,* by the Rt. Rev. J. F. MCGLINCHEY. *Or, for short Let's Go,* by Rev. T. GAVAN DUFFY, Missioner Apostolic of Pondicherry, India. (Boston: Propagation of the Faith Office. 1928. Pp. 493.)

Let's Go, by T. Gavan Duffy, is an enlightening account of a mission tour in Africa. On matters relative to missionary endeavor Father Duffy speaks with the voice of one having a just claim to be heard. He speaks with the voice of authority, and rightly so, for his years of labor among the pagans of other lands have armed him with the foil of knowledge and the shield of truth. In this his latest work Father Duffy begins with the statement that he lays "no claim to profound enlightenment" on the subject at hand. However, the completed effort seems greatly to belie his words. As a travel journal it may not be far above the ordinary, but his experiences, coupled with the view of mission life in Africa, make the resultant work indeed something worth-while. Realizing that the modern world likes to have its bitters sweetened, Father Duffy recounts his visit to the missionaries in a keenly humorous fashion that is inimitable and has its own appeal. The ceremonious Africans and their modes of existence are entertainingly described. Nevertheless, even in narrations of this

kind, the main purpose of the book is not forgotten. The underlying current, that is, the desire to excite public interest in missionary life, is strong and at all times visible. The problems that confront the mission priests in their task of freeing minds trained for generations in superstitious practices, are allotted a full measure of space. Scarcely less important is the explanation of the training and various duties of catechists. An added feature of this volume is the unusual number and the fine quality of its illustrations, which render valuable aid to a better understanding of the whole treatise. Father Duffy's book is an excellent addition to contemporary mission literature.

J. B. T.

Le Catholicisme en Italie. By CESLAS PERA, O. P. (Liége: La Pensée Catholique. 1928. Pp. 102.)

This brochure which forms numbers 205, 206, 207 of that fine series known as *Études Religieuses,* is a concise analysis of the present position of the Catholic Church and Catholic religious life in Italy. It is divided into two parts. The first, under the title of *La Vie Catholique et ses manifestations de pensée et d'action,* outlines present-day Catholic activities in Italy, listing the various organizations. The second section, entitled *La vie nationale et ses nouvelles tendances depuis la revolution fasciste,* shows how Fascism has effected a great change in the official attitude of Italy to the Church. The author holds no brief either for or against Fascism, recognizes its services to Italy and the Church, shows that a purely negative laicism in Italy is dead with the death of Free-masonry, but points out that there is no certainty that Fascism will continue to be so friendly in the future. The attempt to develop a philosophy of Fascism has resulted in a division of opinion between the proponents of Hegelian Idealism, led by the disciples of Oriani, and the proponents of Thomism. These latter have a better case, judging from the past actions of Mussolini, but the issue is in doubt. There will, however, be no compromise. Such is not the nature of the Latin mind.

A. M. T.

Luther's Theological Development from Erfurt to Augsburg. By Professor ALBERT HYMA, University of Michigan. [Landmarks in History]. (New York: Crofts and Company. 1928. Pp. vi, 90.)

The Establishment of Absolutism in France, 1574-1610. By Professor F. C. PALM, University of California. [Landmarks in History]. (New York: Crofts and Company. 1928. Pp. vi, 88.)

The *Landmarks in History* is a series of documentary excerpts illustrating European History. The authors and publishers promise "to cover the entire field of modern history in a short period."

The first in chronological order, compiled and translated by Professor Hyma, contains 139 extracts from the writings of the reformer himself or from his contemporaries. The editor divides these into eighteen chapters beginning with the entrance of Luther into the Augustinian monastery and ending with the short Confession of Augsburg.

Excerpts from documents are as dangerous as excerpts from the Bible. They need explanation. Mr. Hyma indicates this in his introduction. But he should have put such warning also into the text, otherwise the expressions of the reformer after 1530 concerning his early monastic life (1505-1515) will be misleading. In most of these expressions about his early exemplary religious conduct Luther wished to tell his hearers that he could not find peace and in this way he became defensive or even offensive. Without this explanation the unsuspecting students get from such abbreviated documents the "Sunday-school-Luther ideals." After 1513 these "sources" are more in harmony with the subjects which they illustrate, because they express the mind of the reformer at that particular period.

The second collection, which aims to show the first development of Bourbon absolutism in France, has two main parts: "The Monarchy Threatened" (14 excerpts), and "The Monarchy Saved" (20 documentary excerpts). Four of these (18-22) deal with the much-disputed conversion of Henry IV in 1593. The appeal of the Duke of Montmorency to Pope Clement VIII is very pathetic and the pontiff shows great solicitude for France, but on the part of the king the excerpt gives no real proof of his sincere conversion. The copious excerpt from the Toleration Edict of Nantes will be more useful to students. The last document of this collection is an Extract

of the Great Design of Henry IV which takes up nearly one-fourth of the entire booklet. It is the well-known plan of this first Bourbon ruler of France to unify Europe under the leadership of France into one commonwealth for the sake of peace. Any reader today will involuntarily make comparisons between this "Design" and the plan now sponsored by M. Briand for the same purpose.

Both brochures have exercises and questions added for the class-room.

P. Felix Fellner, O. S. B.

Catholic Emancipation Centenary Record. Edited by Rev. Myles V. Ronan, C. C., M. R. I. A. (Dublin. 1929. Pp. 96.)

The June celebration of Catholic Emancipation in Dublin surpassed in splendor and magnificence all other assemblies in the British Isles. Ireland spoke in no unmistaken voice of thanksgiving to God for the boon of liberty which her leaders brought to British Catholics a hundred years ago. To commemorate this great historic anniversary, the committee in charge of the Dublin celebration commissioned Father Myles V. Ronan, of Dun Laoghaire (Kingstown), author of that remarkable book *The Reformation in Dublin* (*1536-58*), to edit a series of essays descriptive of the Ireland of the past and of the present. Handsomely illustrated with sketches of Irish churches, old books, battle scenes, antiquities, and religious houses, as well as with portraits of those who participated in the struggle for religious liberty, the *Record* presents fifteen essays by distinguished Irish scholars on as many aspects of the struggle for emancipation. Father Ronan contributes an excellent article on the ancient Irish cathedrals, and Father T. Corcoran, S. J., writes on Catholic popular education during the penal times. Another paper, by Rev. M. J. O'Donnell, D. D., entitled "Was Emancipation Realized?" deals with a question which the centenary itself has aroused in Great Britain and Ireland and Dr. O'Donnell's conclusions show how accurately he has analyzed the problem. "We are concerned", he writes, "rather to inquire whether Emancipation brought all the advantages that the word might naturally suggest, and whether the people whom it favored made full use of the opportunities that the Act put at their disposal. Under both headings our answer, we are afraid, must be pitched in the minor key." Dr. O'Donnell sums up the case against an undue

optimism over the Act—the Catholic Church was not even placed on a level with the Established Church; Catholics were not free to exercise political rights, since the forty-shilling freeholders were disenfranchised; the Religious Orders "were to be hampered by every legal device and finally fade silently away". Evidently few of the volumes produced by the emancipation centenary this year have reached that candor and historical objectivity which the movement of 1829 deserves.

P. G.

The Story of Blessed John Fisher. By NOEL MACDONALD WILBY. (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1929. Pp. 184.)

This little volume, the work of a rising young authoress, is typical of that type of religious biography in which the English Catholics easily lead all others. It is intended to supplement the life by Father Bridgett and the Catholic Truth Society's pamphlet by Monsignor Cologan. Miss Wilby is gradually making the early Reformation period in English her special field of work, and this biography displays admirably the way Catholic life at that time may be made popular, while remaining strictly objective. John Fisher—the student at Cambridge, the priest, the author, the bishop, the Lord Chancellor of England, the defender of the Faith against an unspeakable Tudor monarch, the champion of Catherine of Aragon, the kind and humorous philosopher, the martyr and saint—stands out saliently in this volume. Perhaps too, it might be added, Blessed John Fisher who was so attractive in his humaneness, comes closer to our hearts in this popular form rather than in the more learned works of Hutton, Manning, or Van Ortroy.

P. G.

The First Disciples of St. Dominic. By The Very Rev. V. F. O'DANIEL, O. P., S. T. M., Litt. D. (Washington, D. C. 1929. Pp. xii, 518.)

"Delightful, edifying, instructive reading"—so writes Bishop Shahan of Father O'Daniel's latest work, some fifty biographical sketches of that galaxy of souls who surrounded the great founder of the Order of Friars Preacher. One might in all candor use the

same phrase about Father O'Daniel himself. An outstanding historical writer of a quarter-century, with a splendid legacy of written works in his special field to bequeath to the next generation of Dominicans, Father O'Daniel might easily have concluded as he was recovering from a fearful accident in which two of his brother Dominicans lost their lives, that his work was ended. But, with characteristic courage and determination, he spent the months of convalescence in composing these excellent pen-sketches.

The First Disciples of Saint Dominic is based upon the well-known *Histoire abrégée des premiers Disciples de Saint Dominique,* published by Father Anthony Touron, O. P., in 1739. Only one who is familiar with the original text can realize the difficulties facing a translator. As Father O'Daniel says, "like most literary men of his age, Father Touron frequently does not give either the full names of the authors to whom he refers, or the full and exact titles of their works." In fact Father O'Daniel adds in this volume sketches of several of this early group of Dominicans who were apparently unknown to Touron. One factor in the composition of the work has a medieval flavor which should be mentioned—the coöperation of the younger members of his community in finding books and published sources, in tracking down references, and in assisting Father O'Daniel generally in his work of research. In this way Touron's statements were all verified, his work was collated with contemporary sources, and a stricter accuracy in the spelling of names and in dates was attained.

When one realizes that five years (1221) after St. Dominic asked the Holy See for official recognition of his Order, there were some sixty houses under its rule, and these were divided into eight provinces—Spain, Provence, France, Lombardy, Rome, Teutonia, England and Hungary, it is easy to understand why the Dominicans represented in Father O'Daniel's book are from all these provinces. Beginning with St. Peter Martyr, a victim to Manichaean ferocity in 1252, the series of portraits brings us from one country to another until the final pen-picture of Blessed Isnard of Chiampo, who died in 1244, is given. Martyrs, bishops, patriarchs, men of science and learning, all saintly and noble characters, make up the body of this edifying book. Among these is one of special attraction to American readers of Irish parentage—Reginald of Bologna, primate of Ireland, who, it is generally agreed, was one of the twelve or thirteen Dominicans

sent to England in 1221, shortly before St. Dominic's death. Appointed Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland by Pope Innocent IV in 1247, Reginald was the third Dominican to be raised to an episcopal see in Ireland. His death (1256) robbed Ireland of one of its best medieval leaders. One specially well-written chapter is the biography of Blessed Mannes Guzman, the brother of St. Dominic.

Usually in a work of this kind, the author unconsciously betrays a preference for one or for the other of his heroes, but Father O'Daniel has preserved an evenness of treatment, a calm appraisal, and a profound reverence for the sanctity of these men of old which give this book a charm all its own.

P. G.

The Douay College Diaries—the Seventh Diary: 1715-1778, preceded by a summary of events: 1691-1715. Edited by the late CANON BURTON and EDWARD CANON NOLAN, for the Catholic Record Society. (London. 1928. Pp. xxii, 390.)

Half a century ago, the brilliant English Oratorian, Father Thomas Knox, published *The First and Second Diaries of the English College, Douay,* from the Westminster Cathedral Archives. The work is a landmark in English Catholic historical science. After the establishment of the Catholic Record Society, the late Canon Burton and the Rev. Thomas L. Williams edited the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Diaries. The First Diary runs from the foundation of Douay College in 1568 to 1575; the Second, from 1575 to 1593; the Third, Fourth, and Fifth, from 1598 to 1654. The Sixth Diary which has never been found, is believed to take in the period from 1676 to 1692. The Seventh and last of these famous manuscripts runs from 1715 to 1778, a few years before the college was broken up, at the time of the French Revolution.

Like all the volumes published by the Catholic Record Society (this is the twenty-eighth), the type, paper, and general appearance of the books are elegant. Canon Nolan had no easy task in preparing the work for its final printing, as he explains in the introduction, but he has succeeded admirably by means of footnotes to elucidate the text and to settle obscure readings. The English Catholic Church

can well be proud of this growing collection of published sources. A nation-wide search should be inaugurated by the hierarchy of England for the Sixth Diary.

P. G.

John Ogilvie. By W. E. Brown. (New York: Benziger Brothers. 1929. Pp. vi, 310.)

A recent press despatch from Rome announcing the probable beatification of the Scottish Jesuit martyr, John Ogilvie, this autumn, just three hundred years after the process of beatification was begun in 1628-9, will undoubtedly draw attention to this excellent biography of the servant of God. Born in 1579 of an influential and noble Scottish family which had forsaken the Faith for Calvinism, he was received into the Church at Louvain in 1596. Becoming a Jesuit, he was sent upon the dangerous Scottish mission in 1613 and labored with some success for nearly a year, only to be arrested in Glasgow, August 4, 1614. He was twice examined at Glasgow and then removed to Edinburgh for final examination and condemnation. Threats and bribes proving unavailing, he was executed on February 28, 1615.

The present work is no *pot pourri* of pious legends, but a scientific biography. It falls into three divisions: a careful life, the relevant documents, and a translation of the process of beatification at Wurzburg in 1628 and at Rome in 1629, the latter the work of Mr. P. McGlynn. Apart from the intrinsic interest of Ogilvie's life and death, the book has an especial worth as an historian's evaluation of the mode of procedure in such trials and of the diabolical ingenuity behind it. In addition, there is an excellent analysis of the state of the Church in Scotland under James I and of that monarch's shifty conduct in its regard. The work of two scholarly members of the faculty of the University of Glasgow, this biography has an impartiality of tone, a moderation of statement and a completeness of treatment which make it authoritative.

A. M. T.

The Origins of the World War. By SIDNEY B. FAY, Ph. D., Professor of Modern History, Smith College. In two volumes. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1929. Pp. xiv, 551; viii, 577. $10.00.) After a decade of careful research into the origins of the World War, Professor Fay has brought out two volumes that indicate sound scholarship and mature judgment. The mass of pertinent materials, both source and secondary, is so enormous that only an investigator of wide learning and unusual ability can properly balance the conflicting evidence and present an objective account of the main currents in European foreign policy during the pre-war period. World war responsibility is such a hackneyed theme that there is little opportunity for Professor Fay to make an original contribution. The outstanding characteristic of the volumes is the unbiased way in which the evidence is analyzed, and the detached, scientific method that is shown in arriving at conclusions.

The first thing that strikes the attention of the present reviewer is the fact that the title of Professor Fay's volumes is a misnomer. Strictly speaking, his study is not concerned chiefly with the "origins" of the World War. Volume one is really a brief discussion of European diplomacy from 1870 to 1914, with merely introductory remarks dealing with the underlying causes of the conflict. These causes he lists under five heads: (a) the system of secret alliances; (b) militarism; (c) nationalism; (d) economic imperialism; and (e) the newspaper press.

Professor Fay considers the "system of secret alliances which developed after the Franco-Prussian War" as the greatest "single underlying cause of the War." With reference to the effects of "economic imperialism" he is quite sceptical, and he believes that its rôle has been much less important than is ordinarily claimed for it. In this regard the reviewer fails to follow the reasoning of Professor Fay. Surely, the formation of the Triple Entente itself was merely the result of imperialistic ambitions in Morocco, Egypt, and Persia, and the system of secret alliances was only a means of safeguarding these all-important spheres of interest.

It is the belief of Professor Fay that nationalism constituted one of the "major causes of the War." After such a statement, one naturally expects to find in Professor Fay's volumes a detailed discussion of the development of nationalism in modern Europe. But one looks in vain not only for definitions of nationality or nationalism,

but also for any appreciation of the parts played by Fichte, Hegel, Gobineau, Treitschke, Chamberlain, Kingsley, Cramb, Maurras, or Barrès in the awakening of an exclusive national spirit in Germany, England, or France. In a study entitled "Origins of the World War" it would seem essential to devote more than one brief paragraph to the general subject of nationalism, and Professor Fay's short and inadequate treatment of the South Slav question which he gives in volume two is far too sketchy to redress this obvious lack of balance.

Militarism is given a more extended treatment than nationalism, but the five pages he allots to this topic, supplemented by a short account of Anglo-German naval rivalry, are hardly sufficient. In a monograph on "origins" of the conflict of 1914 it would have been quite pertinent to expand the discussion of militarism in order to include such phases as the development of standing armies in Europe, the evolution of universal military service, armaments and war traders, and particularly, European armaments, 1900-1914.

And if Professor Fay's treatment of the "underlying causes" of the World War is inadequate, so is his discussion of European diplomacy from 1870 to 1914. Indeed, one suspects that volume one is only an afterthought, and it seems to be the result of Professor Fay's desire to have some sort of an introduction to his analysis of the crisis of 1914. This is especially true of the period from 1870 to 1900, for which only an outline is attempted. But even in the outline there are significant gaps, and important source materials are not used. In the latter part of the decade, 1880-1890, the relations between Austria, Russia, and Germany were highly complicated, and in order for the student to acquire the proper perspective it is necessary that all available evidence be consulted. In this regard it is surprising to note that Professor Fay seems entirely to have ignored the valuable *Diary* of Count Lamsdorf (1886-1890) published in 1926 by the Russian Government.

Lamsdorf was counsellor of the Russian Foreign Office, and he recounts with engaging directness the many sinister influences that controlled the attitude of the Russian Government. The anti-German bias of Alexander III, based on jealousy of German progress, is interestingly portrayed, and the earnest efforts of Bismarck to preserve cordial relations with Russia are told in detail. Indeed, much new light is thrown upon the Czar's unpleasant personality, and its effect upon such questions as the Reinsurance Treaty of 1887, the Bulgarian

crisis of 1886-87, the beginnings of the Russo-French entente, and the development of a Russian nationalism that was intensely antagonistic to Germany.

Professor Fay's ignorance of, or neglect to use, source materials available to other scholars, has invalidated his conclusions in other instances. In dealing with the Bosnian crisis of 1908, he does not realize that the prime reason why Isvolski failed to secure the opening of the Straits was not because of French or English opposition, but because Isvolski's own assistant in the Russian Foreign Office, N. V. Charykov, organized a cabal against him which compelled the Czar to withdraw any further support from Isvolski's ambitious program. (See W. L. Langer, in *English Historical Review*, January, 1929.) Professor Fay is again at fault in his interpretation of the rôle played by Charykov at Constantinople in 1911. (See W. L. Langer, in *Political Science Quarterly*, September, 1928.)

In his discussion of Austro-Serbian antagonism, Professor Fay gives scant space to the struggle of the South Slavs for freedom and unity. Leaders like Vuk Karadjitch and Bishop Strossmayer are passed over in silence, and the impulse given to this movement by Austrian mal-administration is not clearly indicated. (See Victor Bibl, *Der Zerfall Oesterreichs*, vol. II, pp. 416 ff.)

The murder of King Alexander of Serbia, and his Queen, Draga Maschin, on the night of June 10 (not June 11), appears to have shocked Professor Fay deeply. He forgets to mention in this connection the wretched failure of Alexander as a ruler, and the resultant, deep-seated popular discontent. In descanting upon the effects of this assassination, Professor Fay observes as follows:

> Though he may not have been directly privy to the plot, Peter Karageorgevitch profited by it, and he ascended the throne as Peter I. This hideous crime, and the favors shown to those who were responsible for it, outraged the sense of decency in the crowned heads of Europe, most of whom soon withdrew their representatives from Belgrade as a sign of their disapproval. Great Britain did not renew diplomatic relations for three years.

Professor Fay does not mention the fact that the crime was reprobated by many European governments chiefly because it was an attack upon the sacred person of a king, and that King Edward VII, of England, felt very deeply along this line. Both Russia and Austria promptly recognized the government of King Peter, and the United States, realizing that the rule of Peter rested upon popular approval,

felt as early as July 13, 1903, that there was no valid reason for withholding recognition.

In his discussion of the Balkan situation in 1912-1913, Professor Fay fails to indicate the favorable attitude of Kaiser Wilhelm with reference to the early activities of the Balkan League. And in the matter of the support extended by the Kaiser to Austria's program in the Balkans the account of Professor Fay would have been strengthened by the use of important manuscript memoranda published by Professor Seton-Watson in the *Slavonic Review* for June, 1928.

But despite these and other imperfections, the volumes of Professor Fay have many outstanding qualities that make them easily the best and most judicious account of the events leading up to the World War.

CHARLES C. TANSILL.

Intimate Letters of Carl Schurz, 1841-1869. Edited by JOSEPH SCHAEFER, Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1928. Pp. xx, 491.) This volume has obvious value. No man had any more intimate acquaintance with American political development during the Civil War period than did Schurz, and his letters have a piquant, engaging quality that makes them delightful reading. As a political liberal he was forced to flee Germany, and after sojourning in France and England, he felt an irresistible call to emigrate to America. He did not expect

> to find any mountains of gold in America, knowing on the contrary that only a vigorous, uninterrupted activity will enable me to succeed there. But just this is what I seek in America and for this I hope to find there a broader and more fertile field than I can open to myself here [London]. By and by I might have a good living here in England. But citizenship here, for the alien, in merely formal. Under such circumstances I cannot feel at home.

Schurz and his wife arrived in New York on September 18, 1852, and his descriptions of American life are full of interest. In some ways they foreshadow present conditions. For instance, his description of prohibition in New York in 1855 has a distinctly modern tang. Thus:

> In my earlier letters I forgot to write you about two political items which used to interest you greatly. One is the temperance movement in New York. . . . I had been in New York two days before I recalled that prohibition was

in force. All lager beer saloons are open and full of guests; you find in the hotels, as formerly, the tables covered with bottles, and the wine-list lies before you just as copious and unconcerned as ever. People drink just as they used to, but with the extra pleasure of talking about the temperance law over a bottle of wine.

Schurz identified himself with the Republican Party, and soon rose to prominence as a public speaker of unusual ability. In this capacity he met Lincoln, and his comments upon the newly elected President are illuminating (Feb. 9, 1861). In a letter to his wife he remarks:

I had a conversation with Lincoln before my lecture and he said he would visit me at my room tomorrow, when we would discuss everything. He is a whole man, firm as a stone wall and clear as crystal.

Like all other office-seekers in 1861, Schurz came to Washington in quest of congenial employment. He had little doubt that he would be handsomely rewarded for his services during the campaign of 1860. In a letter to his wife, February 13, 1861, he modestly admits that Lincoln had arrived at a just estimate of his [Schurz's] worth. Thus:

Old Abe, speaking to Senator Grimes, called me the greatest man in America and said my wishes alone would command him without other support.

As a result of such cordial friendship, Schurz was appointed as United States Minister to Spain. But he soon found the etiquette of the Spanish Court unpleasant and exacting. The presentation of the letters of credence was effected

with the usual mumble-jumble. I made an address to the Queen in English, of which she understood not a single word, and she answered in Spanish, of which I understood nothing, and we were extremely satisfied with each other. Something else happened at this audience which would not have been thought possible in this stiffly ceremonious Spain. Lacking a uniform, I appeared within the sacred precincts of the royal palace in a black frock coat, a proceeding so frightful that Madrid could not get over it for a number of days.

Like the man of action that he was, Schurz was soon so thoroughly tired of diplomatic life that he returned to America to fight in the Northern army. After the death of Lincoln he no longer basked in official favor, and in a letter to his wife, August 31, 1867, he remarked that President Johnson was acting like a "wounded and anger-crazed boar." In January, 1869, he was elected Senator from Missouri, and it was not long before his idealism brought him into sharp conflict with the Grant administration.

The last letter of the collection bears the date of August 10, 1869, and in it he waxes enthusiastic over the career that has been opened to him through election to the United States Senate. It was his belief that the Senate

> was a field in which every ability can be employed and something solid can be accomplished for this country and for the world. No parliamentary assembly in the world offers more brilliant opportunities, a nobler incitement, and more extended power.

CHARLES C. TANSILL.

Introductory Sociology. By ALBERT MUNTSCH, S. J., and HENRY E. SPALDING, S. J. (New York: D. C. Heath and Co. 1928. Pp. xiv, 466.) For many years Catholic colleges have been in need of a textbook in sociology that dealt with genuine sociology rather than with ethics and which was in tune with the latest findings of this fluctuating and rapidly developing science. This volume is an attempt by two men long interested in this field to answer this need.

The book is divided into six parts dealing respectively with: I, Social origins; II, Social Principles; III, Social Factors and Social Institutions; IV, Social Pathology; V, Social Action; VI, Selections for Collateral Reading. Parts I, III, and IV were written by Father Muntsch, and parts II and V with chapter 2 of part III have been contributed by Father Spalding. To each chapter is added a list of topics for discussion and also a very suggestive list of references. These lists with the careful paragraphing, numbering, and headings meet modern textbook requirements, though little emphasis is placed on current sociological periodicals. A general index of names and another of subject matter conclude the work.

The authors are constantly on the alert not only to bring students into the whole field of static and dynamic sociology, but also to give, on all problems, the judgment of Catholic authorities in philosophy and theology. In this connection the book takes on the nature of applied religion and ethics.

In the first part (Social Origins), the ethnological aspect of sociology is presented to the student and a general résumé of modern ethnological science introduces the family, private property, primitive religion, and morality among the primitives. These problems have been given scientific attention by Rev. Dr. John Cooper and the

Catholic Anthropological Society which he founded. More pointed mention should have been made of this.

In the second part (Social Principles) is presented an analysis of these subjects; the relations of sociology to other sciences, the postulates and hypotheses of social science; man's dignity and final destiny; the essentially social nature of man and the "Bedrock Foundation of Social Life." The conclusions of the authors are not always undebatable. Their definition of sociology, their concept of its purpose and their statement (p. 78) that, "Catholic and non-Catholic Sociologists agree on the subject matter of Sociology but hold divergent views on the end or purpose of the science", will meet many objectors even among the students. There is often an undue importance attached to the opinions of men who, while important twenty-five years ago in this shifting science, are scarcely referred to in modern sociological literature and frequently ethics is confused with research. In the analysis of the "Postulates of Sociology," which are carefully distinguished from hypotheses, one fundamental postulate is not definitely mentioned though it can be deduced from the four that are listed (p. 91). Is not the fundamental difference between the statements of non-Catholic sociology and Catholic sociology centered on the relation between happiness and progress? Recent sociological literature indicates this. This problem is dealt with in chapter III, paragraph 6, in another connection but it is not listed as a fundamental postulate or difference.

Part three deals with environment, habit, group behavior, the family and the state. It outlines many problems that are important in one part of the sociological field. It is difficult to see why, in this section, the question of social laws should have been omitted since the formulation of its laws must be the objective of every science. Many will take exception to the authors' definition of social forces (p. 147), "*Moral* powers which influence social conditions," as narrowing the meaning of social forces already magnificently treated by many non-Catholic and Catholic sociologists who are in accord, at least in the conviction that all social forces are not "moral powers" or virtues.

Part IV (Social Pathology) deals with crime and juvenile delinquency; poverty and pauperism; heredity and eugenics; feeble-mindedness, insanity, and unemployment. These problems are attractively and popularly presented in their bearing on Catholic teaching if not in their scientific relation to sociological science. Some of the latest

Catholic literature and practical movements in the field of social pathology have escaped attention. There is no mention of the internationally known study of Dr. Adolph Frenay, O. P., on suicide, and also no attention is called to the most scientific social service laboratory in the United States—the National Catholic Service School, at Washington. More credit might have been given here to that American pioneer of Catholic and scientific sociological philosophy and action in the United States, Dr. William J. Kerby of the Catholic University.

Part V, on Social Action, deals with attitudes toward social work, the obligation of social service, the practical aspect of social work, and the social influence of the teachings of Christ. This section is interesting even though it assumes an ethical and moralizing viewpoint that many are seeking to dissociate from sociology.

Part VI is a collection of letters and sermons for collateral reading. It contains the encyclical of Leo XIII on the "Condition of Labor"; "The Ministry of Christian Charity", an address by Cardinal Hayes; the "Psychology and the Psychology of Habit", by Ernest R. Hull, S. J.; "Poverty and the Gospel Teaching", by Leon Garriguet; "Birth Control," by Bertrand Conway, C. S. P.; "Juvenile Delinquency and Mental Disorder", by Dr. M. A. Bliss; and "Physical Factors in Crime", by Rev. Thomas V. Moore, Ph. D. Each of these is valuable but one wonders whether they make up a sufficient list for collateral reading, and whether, if they should have been brought in at all, it would have been better to include them in an appendix.

The authors of this book have been heroic. It is doubtful whether a satisfactory introduction to any science can be written. Many think that a textbook or either an introduction to sociology or an analysis of the subject matter is impossible. Fathers Muntsch and Spalding have leaped the hazards and have given us a painstaking and pioneer effort.

IGNATIUS SMITH, O. P.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The tenth annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association will be held at the Catholic University of America, Friday and Saturday, December 27-28, 1929, in joint sessions with the American Catholic Philosophical Association. The Committee on Programme, of which the Right Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, D. D., Rector Emeritus of the University, is chairman, announces the following speakers for its programme: Rt. Rev. Philip Bernardini, S. T. D., J. U. D., Professor of Canon Law, Catholic University of America, "The Lateran Concordat with Italy"; Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo., editor of *Mid-America*, "Old Vincennes: a Chapter in the Ecclesiastical History of the Middle West"; Rev. Peter Leo Johnson, D. D., Professor of Church History, St. Francis, Wis., "Recent Books on the Historical Method and Their Application to Church History"; Rev. Robert Howard Lord, Ph. D., assistant pastor, St. Cecilia's Church, Boston, Mass., "The Parliaments of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period"; Clarence E. Martin, Esq., Martinsburg, W. Va., "The Legal Aspects of the English Penal Laws"; Rev. Edwin J. Ryan, D. D., Instructor in English, Catholic University of America, "Papal Concordats in Modern Times"; Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, D. D., Rector Emeritus of the Catholic University of America, "Source-Material for the History of the Papacy"; and James J. Walsh, M. D., K. S. G., New York City, "The Need of a New Presentation of the Catholic Philosophy of History."

The annual business meeting will take place on Friday, December 27, at 2.00 p. m., and a joint subscription banquet will be given that same day at 7.00 p. m., after which the two presidential addresses of the two associations will be read in the assembly room in McMahon Hall. At the luncheon conferences to be held in the University dining hall on Friday and Saturday at 12.30 p. m., the secretaries of the two associations, Rev. Drs. Sheen and Guilday, will speak briefly of the work of the associations during the past year. Formal notices of the meeting, with a detailed programme, will be sent out to the members of the American Catholic Historical Association in November. Members are reminded that the dates of meeting will not conflict

with the annual meeting of the American Historical Association which will be held at Durham, N. C., December 30-January 1.

Rev. Dr. George Lacombe has been appointed Research Professor of Medieval History of the Catholic University of America, with residence in Paris. Professor Lacombe will also have charge of Catholic University students studying in the French capital.

The Rev. Thomas T. McAvoy, C. S. C., archivist of Notre Dame University, reports that the archives will be closed to all investigators until the work of cataloguing is completed. Attention is at present being given to the papers of the late Father Hudson, the venerable editor of the *Ave Maria*. This collection of about 25,000 pieces will be of great value to students of Catholic literary history.

In addition to the Clarence Alvord Memorial Commission (see the April *Review*, p. 226), the Mississippi Valley Historical Association proposes to establish an historical manuscripts commission, which will attempt to compile an inventory or catalogue of non-archival manuscript source-material for Mississippi Valley history. Mr. Herbert A. Kellar, of the McCormick Historical Library, Chicago, is chairman of this commission.

The National Committee on Calendar Simplification for the United States has submitted its *Report* to the Secretary of State (Washington, pp. 119). Of particular interest is the section devoted to Religious Aspects of Calendar Change, in which are discussed the fixation or stabilization of Easter and the effect of the introduction of the so-called blank days upon the continuity of the Sabbath. In the former, attention should be called to the discrepancy in meaning and expression between the report of the Holy See's attitude and the reply of the Apostolic Nunciature in Switzerland to the questionnaire of the League of Nation's committee upon which the former statement is made. The report reads: "... but it [the Holy See] has declared that, if it can be shown that the fixing of the festival of Easter would be of universal benefit, it would submit the question to the next Oecumenical Council." What Archbishop Maglione actually wrote was: "Even if, therefore, it were shown that some change in these traditions was demanded by the general good, the Holy See would not be prepared to consider the question except on the advice of an Ecumenical Council."

Bulletin No. 7 of the *Progress of Medieval Studies in the United States of America,* compiled by Professor James F. Willard, gives a resume of papers in the field which were read at the annual meetings of the learned societies; lists of books published and in preparation, on medieval subjects; an account of the fourth annual meeting of the Mediaeval Academy of America; a list of medievalists and their publications, for the year 1928; and a list of doctoral dissertations now in progress or completed during the same year.

The June number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* includes Some Facts in the Early Missionary History of the Northwest, by Peter J. Paul, O. S. A.; a continuation of the history of the Third Order of St. Francis, 1855-1928, by a member of the Sisterhood, and Notes for a History of Catholicism in Holmesburg and Northeast Philadelphia, by John W. McFadden.

Mid-America appears as the successor to the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* (Vol. XII, No. 1). The future policy of the journal will, as its name indicates, be more comprehensive in scope, concerning itself with the record of Catholic life and history in the entire Mississippi Valley. The Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., is the new editor. He will be assisted by the following associates: Joseph J. Thompson, Rev. Frederick Beuckman, Rev. J. B. Culemans, William S. Merrill, Rev. Paul J. Foik, C. S. C., and Rev. Dr. Francis Borgia Steck, O. F. M. The leading article in the July issue is an account of the Political Regime of the French in the Valley of the Mississippi, by Louis Callan, R. S. C. J.; Father Foik reviews the journalistic career of the *Truth Teller,* an Irish-American publication of the period 1825-1859; Rev. John M. Rothensteiner writes on the "Study of Place-Names"; the late Monsignor Francis S. Holweck's biographical sketches of "Two Pioneer Indiana Priests, the Rev. Joseph Kundeck, V. G., and the Rev. Joseph Ferneding, V. G.", are reprinted, and Anthony Matre contributes another chapter to his history of the American Federation of Catholic Societies. The REVIEW extends its best wishes for the success of the new journal, the initial number of which is so rich in promise.

Professor George P. Hammond, in the *New Mexico Historical Review* for July, writes on Pimería Alta After Kino's Time, in which are reviewed Father Kino's pioneer services in that region and the labors of the padres who continued his work. There are appended

a copy of the royal cédula, October 10, 1728, ordering the viceroy to take measures for the sending of some Jesuits to the upper Pimas; a report, dated July 31, 1732, of the founding of three missions in Pimería, and two other documents concerning conversions, etc. Another contribution of interest to this quarterly is Information Communicated by Juan Candelaria, Resident of This Villa de San Francisco Xavier de Albuquerque (1692-1776)," translated by Isidoro Armijo, which gives an account of several settlements and missions.

The July number of the *Harvard Theological Review* is devoted entirely to a study of the Pharisees, Their Origin and Their Philosophy, by Louis Finkelstein of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

Speculum for July prints Professor Edward K. Rand's presidential address on the Classics in the Thirteenth Century, delivered at the fourth annual meeting of the Mediaeval Academy of America; a richly illustrated article by Sister Mary Aquinas Devlin on an English Knight of the Garter in the Spanish Chapel in Florence, a description and interpretation of the famous fresco in that chapel of the Church of Santa Maria Novella; a paper on the Four Senses of Scriptural Interpretation and the Mediaeval Theory of Preaching, by Harry Caplan, and a third chapter on the Mediaeval Academy Excavations at Cluny, by Kenneth J. Conant.

The 1929 *Year Book* of St. Bonaventure's Seminary, Allegany, N. Y., edited by the Duns Scotus Theological Society, reflects the spirit of the seminary's diamond jubilee. Besides the usual chronicle and notes, there are several articles, many of them historical, on the central theme of the volume, the Immaculate Conception. Typographically, the book is a delight.

Writing in the August issue of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* on the Ecclesiastical Policy of Maximilian of Mexico, Professor N. Andrew N. Cleven concludes that the struggle between Church and State in Mexico during that period " was merely the continuation of a contest which had begun centuries before New Spain had come into existence; and even before old Spain itself had emerged as a nation. The struggle in Mexico *was* and *is* merely a continuation of the contest between the spiritual and temporal powers begun when the papacy began to extend its sphere of control over the Iberian

Peninsula." Among the documents printed in this well-edited journal is a translation of a letter from the Archbishop of Cosenza to Petrus de Acosta, prothonotary apostolic, March 7, 1520, concerning missionaries for the Indies, etc. The excellent Hispanic American bibliographies, prepared by C. K. Jones, which have featured this periodical, are continued and contain many items of Catholic interest.

A fourth edition of *Le P. De Smet, Apôtre des Peaux-rouges, 1801-1873,* by É. Laveille, has appeared (Louvain and Paris, Museum Lessianum, pp. 480).

Recent pamphlets of the Ottawa Branch of the Catholic Truth Society of Canada are *Irish Catholic Emancipation* and *Three Irish Nuns* (Nano Nagle, Mary Aikenhead, and Catherine McAuley), both studies from the pen of Rev. John J. O'Gorman.

Duchartre and Van Buggenhoudt, Paris, have in preparation *La France en Amérique du Nord,* in which, it is announced, the account of the work of the early missionaries will be authoritatively illustrated.

Historia de la Isla y Catedral de Cuba, an early eighteenth-century work of Rt. Rev. Bishop Pedro Agustín Morell de Santa Cruz, has been published by the Academia de la Historia de Cuba, with a preface by Francisco de Paula Coronado.

Volume VIII of *Peuples et Civilisations: Histoire Générale,* published under the direction of Louis Halphen and Philippe Sagnac, is *Les Débuts de l'Âge Moderne: la Renaissance et la Réforme,* by Professors Henri Hauser and Augustin Renaudet (Paris, Alcan, pp. 639).

The Primitive Church, by Burnett H. Streeter (Macmillan, pp. 312), is a study with special reference to the origins of the Christian ministry.

The Oxford University Press will issue this autumn Dom R. Hugh Connolly's translation, the first in English, of the Syriac text of the *Didascalia Apostolorum.*

Recent publications of Gabriel Beauchesne, Paris, include *Jésuites Missionnaires, Syrie Proche-Orient,* by Henri Charles, S. J., and a new edition of the *Dictionnaire Apologétique de la Foi Catholique,* entirely revised under the direction of Professor R. P. d'Ales of the Catholic Institute of Paris.

A volume deserving more than passing notice will be *Studies in Medieval Culture,* by Professor C. H. Haskins, to come from the Oxford University Press.

Latin Thought during the Middle Ages, by Professor Cesare Foligno, who contributed a chapter to the *Legacy of the Middle Ages,* has come from the Oxford University Press.

Science and Thought in the Fifteenth Century, by Lynn Thorndike (Columbia University Press, pp. 387), consists chiefly of studies in the history of medicine and surgery, natural and mathematical science, philosophy, and politics, based upon manuscript and unpublished materials.

Bloud and Gay, Paris, have issued *Saint Philippe Néri et la Société Romaine de son Temps,* by Louis Ponnelle and Louis Bordet; also *La Spiritualité Médiévale,* by Félix Vernet; and *Le Mont Saint-Michel,* by Michel Florisoone.

The Heroic Life of Saint Vincent de Paul, a biography by Henri Lavedan, has been translated by Helen Y. Chase (Longmans, Green, pp. 279).

Émile Baumann, known for his *Saint Paul,* has completed *Bossuet,* also a biography (Paris, Grasset). Jules Tallandier has published *Les Lettres de Bossuet,* edited by Henri Massis. Baumann's *St. Paul* has been translated by Kenneth Burke (Harcourt, Brace and Co.).

Recent studies of Jansenism are *Jansénistes du 18° siècle et la Constitution civile du clergé,* by E. Préclin (Paris, Gamber, pp. 614), and *Le Jansénisme durant la Regence,* tome I, by Professor J. Carreyre (Louvain, Bureau de la Revue).

A recent addition to the Alcuin Club Tracts is the late Rev. H. J. Clayton's *Cassock and Gown,* which traces through brasses, survivals, and documentary material their evolution from the closed cape (Oxford University Press, pp. 16).

A fear of national disintegration, the interest of the public weal and of the national defence, the cupidity of the ruling classes, and the passing of an outworn economic order are enumerated by Oscar A. Marti in the August number of the *Journal of Political Economy* as the Economic Factors Tending toward Secularization of Church Property in England, 1533-1539.

The *English Historical Review* for July contains several articles of Catholic historical interest. V. H. Galbraith writes of an Episcopal Land Grant of 1085, giving a record of two separate arrangements between Robert, Bishop of Hereford, and Roger de Lacy, the first in return for the service of the two rights, the second a grant for an annual rent. The author describes these as "a part of the process of sub-infeudation after the Conquest". Miss Rose Graham describes the Great Schism and the English Monasteries of the Cistercian Order, showing the division in the latter order between 1378 and 1409, and its union under the abbot of Cîteaux; Patrick Purcell contributes a study of the Jacobite Rising in 1715 and the English Catholics, and the Rev. Canon A. T. Bannister adds a second instalment of Visitation Returns of the Diocese of Hereford in 1397.

A Century of Anglo-Catholicism, by H. L. Stewart, is described as "a full and unbiased historical survey of one of the most hotly debated forces in the religious life of today" (London, Dent).

Recent issues of the Catholic Truth Society include the *English Martyrs and Anglican Orders,* by Dom Bede Camm, O. S. B.; the *Vocation of Mother Mary Claver*; the *Sovereignty of the Holy See,* containing addresses by His Holiness, the Brazilian Ambassador, and Signor Mussolini, March 9, 1929, and *Bishop Challoner* (1691-1781), by the late Canon Edwin H. Burton, the latter a reissue.

J. Lewis May's *Life of Cardinal Newman* is published by Geoffrey Bles.

The Oxford University Press announces the *Letters of Osbert of Clare, Prior of Westminster,* edited by Rev. E. W. Williamson.

The modest, scholarly work being accomplished quietly by the members of the Lingard Society of London deserves the attention of all historical students. The society grew out of a local research group and in 1916 was reorganized and developed with the assistance of Hilaire Belloc, Father Cuthbert, O. S. F. C., Father Bede Jarrett, O. P., Professor Edmund Gardner, Litt. D., and many others. After the war, the original plan of limiting its studies to the medieval period of history was expanded to include the post-Reformation period. In 1922, the council of the Royal Historical Society graciously permitted the use of its lecture room at 22 Russell Square for the meetings and the society (still known as the St. Thomas Historical So-

ciety) began to grow, bringing to its ranks the leading Catholic scholars of England. At a general meeting in October, 1924, the name was changed to that of the Lingard Society, and appropriately Canon Fletcher read a remarkable paper on John Lingard, which appeared in the *Dublin Review* for January, 1925. His Eminence Cardinal Bourne has honored the society by an active patronage which has raised it to one of the leading educational institutions in Catholic London. Among the papers read at the meetings are the following: *Medieval Miracles,* by Mr. F. F. Urquhart; *Regulars and the Parochial System,* by Mr. Egerton Beck; *Marriage and Divorce in the Middle Ages,* by Fr. Thurston, S. J.; *The Lateran Canons and Ireland* and *Cardinal Jacques de Vitry,* by Abbot Smith; *England and the Council of Trent* and *The Cardinal of Lorraine,* by Mr. H. O. Evennett; *Archbishop Ullathorne,* by Abbot Butler; *The Council of Nicæa,* by Abbot Cabrol; *St. Boniface and the Early Benedictine Missions,* by Dom D. Pontifex, O. S. B.; *Gregory VII,* by Miss E. Gipps; *Matthew Paris,* by Miss Mabel Mills; *The Civil Constitution of the Clergy, 1790, Cardinal Consalvi* and *Cardinal Pacca,* by Mr. J. J. Dwyer; *Evesham Abbey and its Influence in English History,* by Mr. W. A. S. Hewins; *Two Less Known Archbishops of Canterbury,* by Mr. V. J. B. Torr. The subjects chosen are, however, not limited to Church history in any narrow sense; for instance, *The Schools of Medieval English,* by Monsignor Barnes; *Boethius,* by the late Dr. Adrian Fortescue; *Anglo-French Literary Relations in the Middle Ages,* by Professor F. Y. Eccles; *The Medieval Guilds,* by Mr. A. J. Penty; *Bernini,* by Mrs. Arthur Strong; *England and the Continent in the Middle Ages* and *The Close of the Middle Ages,* by Mr. F. F. Urquhart, dean of Balliol College, Oxford; *The Courts of the Italian Renaissance* and *Traiano Boccalini,* by Professor Edmund Gardner; *Vasco da Gama,* by Professor Prestage; *The Massacre of St. Bartholomew* and *The Garibaldi Myth,* by Mr. Maurice Wilkinson, of St. John's, Oxford; *Spanish Colonial Policy* and *The Conquistadores,* by Miss H. Douglas Irvine. Nearly all Mr. Belloc's lectures have had wide general subjects, *e. g., The Catholic Conception of Liberty in the Middle Ages, The Study of History, The Nature of Historical Evidence.* The papers read in the sessions of 1928-29 were: *The Royal Saints of Britain,* by W. A. S. Hewins, Esq., M. A.; *The Medieval Popes and the Jews,* by the Rev. Francis Day; *Anglican Orders and the English Martyrs,* by Dom Bede Camm, O. S. B.; *Christianity and the Common Law of England,* by Richard

O'Sullivan, Esq.; *Albuquerque,* by Professor Edgar Prestage; *Some English Archbishops and Bishops of the Fifteenth Century,* by V. J. B. Torr, Esq., and *The Alien Priories,* by F. W. Sherwood, Esq. In an announcement recently sent to the members of the Lingard Society, the secretary, Mr. J. J. Dwyer, writes: "Of the necessity and value of some knowledge of history, especially to Catholics, it is hardly necessary to speak today. Amid intense activity all around us, Catholics—who surely have most to gain by that study—should not remain content with a position of inferiority. The immense change in the general atmosphere, the new tone in alluding to the things of the Catholic past, the very different language and the spirit in almost all the books, even many of the school books, the new reverence for the remains of the ruined abbeys of England, the centennial celebrations of Catholic saints and scholars—all these things are the direct outcome of an enormous increase in historical knowledge and understanding. One would think that educated Catholics, who cannot help knowing that the Church has been the chief formative influence in European civilisation, would be eager to widen and deepen their knowledge of the process."

The lectures delivered at University College, Dublin, April, 1929, by Dom Louis Gougaud, O. S. B., have been published by Hodges, Figgis and Co., Dublin, under the title, *Modern Research with Special Reference to Early Ecclesiastical History* (pp. 58).

The Dublin Guilds, by John J. Webb, lecturer in municipal history at University College, Dublin, is based largely upon the rolls and transcripts collected by Sir John Gilbert and the municipal records of Dublin (Ernest Benn, pp. 298).

The People's History of Catholic Emancipation, by John Quinlan, is a popular account of the main facts surrounding the Act of 1829 (Williams and Norgate, pp. 144).

O'Connell's life and achievement are set forth in *Great Days with O'Connell,* by D. L. Kelleher (Dublin, Talbot Press, pp. 137).

Studies for June contains an account of the Irish Benedictine Congregation in Medieval Germany, by Daniel A. Binchy; a discussion of O'Connell and Popular Education, by T. Corcoran, S. J.; an investigation of the Middle Ages from Inside, by Herbert Thurston, S. J.; the story of Daniel O'Connell and His Lieutenants, by

Denis Gwynn, and a review of the Theories of Church and State in the Sixteenth Century, by Denis O'Keefe.

Historical contributions to the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* for June include a second chapter of Rev. John F. O'Doherty's history of the States of the Church; an article by Rev. E. J. Quigley on O'Connell Defending Maynooth; and a continuation of Rev. W. E. Brown's Considerations on the Trial of John Ogilvie (1615). In the July number, W. F. P. Stockley continues from May his study entitled "Ireland and Her Poor Dear Sydney Smith", and there is a further installment of Father O'Doherty's contribution, noted above.

The bishops of the ecclesiastical Province of Sydney have decided that a Life of Cardinal Moran, Archbishop of Sydney from 1884 to 1911, should be written. The Rev. M. J. O'Reilly, C. M., D. D., Provincial of the Vincentian Fathers in Australia, will undertake the work. Father O'Reilly is now in Rome accumulating material. Cardinal Moran spent many years in the Eternal City as a student and as vice-rector of the Irish College. Cardinal Moran's three volumes, the *Spicilegium Ossoriense* (Dublin, 1884), is one of the first works to contain printed sources for the history of the Church in the United States.

No. 31 of *Vies des Hommes Illustres* (Nouvelle Revue Française) is *La Vie de Saint Louis,* by Jacques Boulenger.

John Gerson, Reformer and Mystic (B. Herder, pp. 408), is a timely biography, by James L. Connolly, of Jean le Charlier, curé of Gerson, who ably defended the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception at Avignon in 1387, became chancellor of the University of Paris, and was a leading figure at the Council of Constance. This year marks the five hundredth anniversary of his death.

The approach of the quincentenary of the death of Joan of Arc brings forth many studies of this popular saint. Among recent French works are: Gabriel Honoteaux, *Jeanne d'Arc après Cinq Cents Ans* (Plon and Nourrit); Georges Grosjean, *Jeanne d'Arc et le Sentiment National* (Bossard), and *Les Leçons de Saint Jeanne d'Arc,* translated from the Persian of Abdou 'Lbahā (Ernest Leroux).

The Secret of the Curé D'Ars, by Henri Ghéon, has been translated by F. J. Sheed and is published with a study of the saint by G. K. Chesterton (Sheed and Ward).

Agrippa d'Aubigné et le Parti Protestant is a recent contribution to the history of the Reformation in France, by Armand Garnier (Paris, Fischbacher).

Sainte Roseline, Moniale-Chartreuse (1263-1329), is a biography by Pierre Sabatier (Paris, Spes).

R. P. Charrier, S. J., is the author of *Histoire du Vénérable Père Claude de la Colombière, S. J.* (Paris, Beauchesne).

The following articles appear in the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* for July: "L'Application du Droit de Régale Spirituelle en France du XII au XIV Siècle", by G. Mollar; "La 'Congregation' des Chapitres Cathédreaux de la Province Ecclésiastique de Reims à Saint-Quentin (1331-1428)", by H. Nelis; and "La Méthode Polémique des Premiers Adversaires de la Réforme", by P. Polman, O. F. M.

In his obituary notice of Monsignor Pierre Batiffol (*Revue de l'histoire ecclésiastique de la France,* January, 1929), the editor, Abbé Carriere, has revealed a little known fact in the life of that outstanding scholar. The second series of Batiffol's *Études d'histoire et de théologie positive,* which is devoted to studies on the Eucharist, aroused must adverse criticism. Batiffol learned that the book was in all likelihood to be condemned by the Holy Office, and he drew up a lengthy statement justifying his conclusions and accepting in advance all those corrections which his critics deemed necessary. This statement was sent to Archbishop Germain, who pigeon-holed it and did not offer it in Batiffol's favor when the *Études* was placed on the Index in 1907. Suspected of heretical tendencies, Batiffol was obliged to resign his post as rector of the University of Toulouse and went into retirement in Paris. Eight years passed before the cloud was entirely lifted from his good name. Fortunately for historical scholarship these years of what was practically a solitude gave Batiffol the opportunity of profound research and added to his writings a clearer vision and a solid logic that shines forth brilliantly in a noble tetralogy—*L'Eglise naissante* (1909), *La Paix constantinienne* (1914), *Le Catholicisme de Saint Augustin* (1920), and *Le Siège apostolique* (1924). No student of Duchesne approaches so closely to the old master as does Batiffol in the field of historical theology.

The *Almanach Catholique Français* for 1929 calls attention to the

numerous centenaries of interest to historians which occur this present year: the opening of the first theological college of the Dominicans in Paris in 1229; the publication in 1629 of the *Concilia antiqua Galliae,* by the celebrated Jesuit Père Sirmond, and the second centenary of the death of Père Hardouin (1729), whose greatest work is the *Conciliorum Collectio regia maxima*; the publication of the famous Polyglot Bible of Paris (1629); the death (1629) of Antonio Bosio, the "Columbus of the Catacombs", whose *Roma Sotteranea,* published after his death in Rome (1632), was Di Rossi's inspiration; the death (1729) of the great Maurist, Dom Bernard de Montfaucon, whose great *Palaeographia graeca* (Paris, 1708) ushered in a new era in the study of Greek texts; the publication of the first of the twenty-eight volumes (1729) of the celebrated *Histoire Générale des Auteurs sacrés et ecclésiastiques,* by Dom Remi Ceillier; the death (1729) of one of the greatest theologians of modern times, Honoré Tournely; the death (1729) of the famous liturgist, Father Pierre Le Brun of the Oratory; the death (1729) of P. Honoré de Sainte-Marie, whose three volumes, *Reflexions sur les regles et l'usage de la critique touchant l'Histoire de l'Eglise,* mark a point of departure in historical method, and the publication (1829) of the first of the thirteen volumes of the *Collectio selecta sanctorum Patrum,* by Abbé Caillan.

The announcement that a group of Louvain scholars has taken over the *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* recalls the fact that the great *Encyclopédie des Sciences Ecclésiastiques,* of which this *Dictionnaire* is a most important part, is rapidly nearing completion after practically a quarter of a century's labors. The object of the learned editors of the *Encyclopédie* was first to avoid the profuseness of the *Encyclopédie théologique* of Abbé Migne. This latter work, in 171 volumes, published between 1844 and 1866, was of small scientific worth and lacked, as does Migne's *Patrologia,* that critical appraisal so necessary in collections of this kind. Secondly, the *Encyclopédie des Sciences Ecclésiastiques* was to be more complete than the *Kirchenlexicon* of Wetzer and Welte (in 12 vols.), or the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (in 16 vols.). The work was to be fashioned in such a way as to make a direct appeal to professors in colleges, universities, and seminaries; to all the clergy who could not be expected to possess libraries large enough for an adequate study of various problems in the ecclesiastical sciences; to lecturers, and to

the better instructed laity. One point should be stressed about all fasicules which have so far appeared—the excellent bibliographies accompanying each article. The *Encyclopédie* consists of five dictionaries: 1. *Dictionnaire de la Bible,* now completed in ten volumes, to which a *Supplément* is being added; 2. *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique,* of which 88 fasicules have appeared; 3. *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne,* of which 89 fasicules have been printed; 4. *Dictionnaire de Droit Canonique,* the fourth fasicule of which appeared last year; and 5. the *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques,* the direction of which has lately been transferred from Paris to Louvain. Some twenty fasicules have so far been published and the Louvain scholars are now occupied with topics under the letter B. Nothing on so vast a scale has even been attempted in this field of ecclesiastical history, and when completed the *Dictionnaire* will be without doubt one of the richest source-books on Church history in existence.

The attention of students should be drawn to an attractive set of brochures, published by Ferdinand Schöning of Paderborn, on source-material for various problems in ecclesiastical history—*Sammlung Kirchengeschichtlicher Quellen und Darstellungen,* of which twenty-nine numbers have appeared. One of the best of these is Dr. Guggenberger's *Geschichte des Staatskirchentums,* which contains in epitime the story of the relations between Church and State from the beginning to the present (1927).

Rome oder Avignon? Die römische Frage unter den Päpsten Clemens V und Johann XXII, by Elisabeth Kraack (pp. 62), is a recent addition to the *Marburger Studien zur älteren deutschen Geschichte* (Marburg, N. G. Elwert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, G. Braun).

I Concordati Post-Bellici (pp. 308), by Giannini Amadeo, is a timely publication of the Società Editrice *Vita e Pensiero* (Milan).

Catholic scholars of the various countries have successfully engaged themselves in the making of encyclopedias. Those of Germany, France, the United States, and Spain have either completed their monumental works or are publishing their volumes with a regularity that promises completion within a reasonable time. The last enterprise of this nature to be launched is the *Enciclopedia Italiana,*

the first volume of which appeared at the beginning of the present year. The entire work will comprise thirty-six volumes of approximately 1,000 pages each, with numerous maps and illustrations. It is planned to issue four volumes each year, so that the work will be finished in 1937.

Snead and Company, Jersey City, have issued the *Vatican Library* (pp. 40), a pamphlet containing papers by Monsignor Eugène Tisserant and Theodore W. Koch, the latter an historical sketch. This pamphlet, which is beautifully printed and illustrated, was presented to the delegates to the International Library Congress held at Rome, June 15-30.

One great epoch in the history of the papacy has ended and another has begun. Now that the State of the Vatican City may be linked with the thousand years of the States of the Church, renewed interest in the subject of the temporal sovereignty of the popes will undoubtedly be awakened in all centers of historical study and research; and the next decade will witness the publication of a large number of scholarly works on the papacy as the one religious, political, and social institution which links the past, present and future of the Christian world. One scarcely needs to turn to the better-known bibliographical guides—De Smedt, Oesterley, Dahlmann-Waitz, Wattenbach, Monod, Pirenne, Gross, Paetow, Potthast, Hurter, Chevalier, Bratke, Dowling, and others—to realize that the literature on the papacy has already reached colossal proportions. We need a new "pathfinder" for this literature. There should be a single volume, "Source-Material for the History of the Papacy", which would serve as a general critical guide to scholars already familiar with the great collections of sources such as Jaffé, Kehr, Pflugk-Harttung, Theiner, Mansi, the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica,* the *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* of Muratori, the *Rolls Series,* the Spanish *Colecciónes* and many others. Such a volume should list with a critical appraisal all the works of merit which are available in great library centres and should enable the aspiring student to form quickly and accurately a "working bibliography" for the different phases of papal history. There is no need to refer to the excellent bibliographies in the works of Duchesne, Grisar, Mann, von Pastor and others of lesser note. But all these helps are scattered and to a large extent unclassified. It would be well for some industrious scholar to compile for us a complete *cata-*

logue raisonné of all that has so far appeared on the history of the popes so as to furnish a norm of critical appraisal for the works which will be inspired by the restoration of the temporal sovereignty of the popes.

Jörgensen is an autobiography of this Scandinavian convert to the Church, admirably translated by Ingeborg Lund (Sheed and Ward, two volumes).

Works on contemporary Church history are few and of relatively low value to the student. Practically all these volumes center the life of the Church of our times around the papacy with a brief chronicle of Catholic thought and action in the different countries. No attempt at a synthetic presentation is made; perhaps, it is impossible. Dr. Klemens Loeffler's *Papstgeschichte von der franzoesischen Revolution bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 1911, pp. 199) came out about the same time as Canon Barry's *The Papacy and Modern Times; a Political Sketch, 1303-1870* (London, 1911, pp. 256). Both contain a selected bibliography. Articles of merit can be found each year in the *Almanach Catholique Français* (Bloud et Gay, Paris) on the popes of the last half-century. *The Storia ecclesiastica contemporanea (1900-1925)*, by the Barnabite monk, Father Orazio M. Premoli (Marietti, Rome, 1925, pp. 496), makes no attempt at a synthetic presentation of Catholic life, but merely chronicles the chief events in papal history and in the different countries. The section devoted to the Catholic Church in the United States occupies about eighteen pages and makes amusing reading for American Catholics. It is like viewing the Church here in a trick mirror. Canon Leman of the University of Lille has succeeded better in his *L'Eglise dans les Temps modernes* (Bibliothèque Catholique des Sciences religieuses, Bloud et Gay, Paris, 1928, pp. 199). As a tableau of historical scenes from the so-called Renaissance to the French Revolution (1447-1789), Leman's work is easily the best of the recent publications, and it forms a trustworthy preparation for another work to be published by the same society—*L'Eglise contemporaine*, by Canon Civrays, dean of the faculty of letters at the Catholic Institute of Angers. The theme of Leman's book may be best given in his own words: "Nous nous sommes efforcés d'en dégager les causes, d'en d'ecrire le progrès, de montrer comment l'Eglise s'est defendue contre elle [*Protestantism*] et a poursuivi son oeuvre d'evangelisation." A special bibliography covers all the main aspects of the complex problems of

the period. Fernand Hayward has recently published the first volume of his *Le Dernier Siècle de la Rome Pontificale* on the pontificates of Clement XIV, Pius VI, and Pius VII (Payot, Paris, 1927, pp. 240), which will be followed by a second volume, *De la Restauration à la Chute du Pouvoir Temporel, 1814-1870.* Hayward writes for the general reader and not always in a spirit sympathetic with the Holy See. M. George London has given us an interesting little book in explanation of the Lateran Treaty, *De Pie IX à Pie XI* (Paris, 1929, pp. 256). London's standpoint is that in the whole history of the Church there has been nothing comparable to the treaty, except perhaps the Donation of Pepin.

Much credit is due to F. R. Webber for having assembled and presented in systematic order a wealth of valuable and delightful information in his copiously illustrated book, *Church Symbolism* (Cleveland, 1927). Symbolism is truly a Catholic art and it is regrettable that Catholic architects and church decorators seem to pay such scant attention to this veritable mine of Catholic tradition which proved a perennial source of inspiration and instruction to the medieval masters.

Webber is not quite fair either to history or to the correct standards of symbolism when, on page 94, he writes that the popular explanation of the monogram IHS, as "Jesus hominum Salvator", is "usually credited to a somewhat eccentric monk known as St. Bernardine of Sienna . . ." St. Bernardine was neither a "monk" nor was he "somewhat eccentric". He was a Franciscan friar, a scholar, a saint, one of the greatest preachers of his time, and the foremost champion of the cult of the Holy Name. In championing this devotion he was enthusiastic, not eccentric; and in explaining it to the people he employed in a legitimate manner the oldest means of instruction, namely, a symbol.

St. Bernardine used the symbol or rather the monogram of the Holy Name as he found it. Those who are interested in the history of this monogram, from its origin down to the time of St. Bernardine, will read with profit the article, "Andreae de Biliis, O. S. A. Tractatus ad Barcinonenses de Littera H in Nomine Jesu", by P. Joannes B. Wuest, O. F. M. (*Antonianum,* III, 1). As the author points out, the Latin writers in transliterating the Greek name IHCOUC and the corresponding abbreviation IHC, changed indeed the Sigma (C) into S, but neglected to change the Eta (H) into the corresponding E.

Thus it happened that in its Latin form the monogram IHS was taken at its face value by those who were ignorant of the Greek original. In fact the opinion prevailed that the letter *h* in the Holy Name was to be considered as an aspirate. The error took still deeper roots when Gothic minuscules were substituted, and when the first letter *i*, according to common usage, was changed to *y*. Thus originated the form *yhs*.

Such was the form of the monogram when St. Bernardine appeared on the scene. He explained it with fine symbolic sense. In his sermon "De Regno Christi" (*Opera Omnia S. Bernardini Senensis*, ed. Joannes De la Haye, III, 321-325), he describes how the tablet bearing the Holy Name should be made. The monogram should be printed, he says, in gold minuscules of Gothic script. These should be placed in the center of a sun radiating rays of gold, all of which should appear on a field of blue. The long perpendicular line in the letter *h*, he continues, symbolizes the tree of the cross. The horizontal line (which was originally the sign of abbreviation) should be drawn across it, to complete the cross. The other two letters are symbolical of the Father and the Holy Ghost respectively. Thus the monogram, consisting of the Sign of the Cross surrounded by the Three Divine Persons, symbolizes the Redemption of mankind.

It is well to remember that a symbol is merely the means of conveying a truth; it is not the truth itself. Its origin and evolution may show historical or linguistic inaccuracies; but it fully serves a legitimate and noble purpose as long as it conveys clearly and forcefully a thought or prayer or belief, and as long as it has ecclesiastical sanction, if such be necessary.

Webber remarks that "the early Church knew of no such rebus", but he overlooks the fact that St. Bernardine merely restored and adapted a venerable symbol, which had on it the marks of centuries, to an old truth and, strange to say, in explaining this ancient symbol in its apparently corrupted form as "Salvator Hominum", he clinched the precise etymological meaning of the primitive Hebrew name "Jehoshua" and its Aramaic equivalent: "Thou shalt call his name Jesus. For he shall save his people from their sins" (Matt. I, 21). It is an insignificant but interesting proof that in spite of the changeableness of human arts, languages and writings, the substance of Catholic tradition ever remains unchanged.

Historical articles in current periodicals — *General and miscel-*

laneous: Was St. Paul Successor to St. Peter? (Vincent McNabb, O. P., *Blackfriars,* June); St. Augustine and Cicero's Definition of the State (M. F. X. Millar, S. J., *Thought,* September); Early Christianity in North Africa (T. A. Johnston, *Month,* August); The So-Called Jewish Christians (D. W. Riddle, *Anglican Theological Review,* July); De Tempore Compositionis Epistolae Apostolorum, *continued* (J. Delazer, O. F. M., *Antonianum,* July); Zur Erforschung der Alten Buschmann-Religion (P. W. Schmidt, S. V. D., *Africa,* July); Les "Inclus" de la Bible (Jules d'Auriac, *Revue des Études Historiques,* July-September); Truth in Ancient Israel (W. A. Irwin, *Journal of Religion,* July); Les Orientales en Galicia, *continued* (P. B. Garnelo, *Religión y Cultura,* August); El Problema de la Adaptación en el Apostolado (G. Dandoy, *Razón y Fe,* July 25); Konstantin der Grosse und die christliche Kirche (Karl Müller, *Historische Zeitschrift,* 140, 2); La Date des "Collations" de S. Bonaventure (P. Glorieux, *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum,* July); Antecedentes Historico-genésicos de la Filosofía de San Agustín (P. A. Custodio Vega, *Religión y Cultura,* July); The Jewish Background of the Gospels, II (G. H. Parbrook, *Holborn Review,* July); St. Augustine's *City of God*: Its Plan and Development (R. J. Deferrari and M. J. Keeler, *American Journal of Philology,* April, May, June); Notes on the Orthodox Church, I (Bede Winslow, O. S. B., *Pax,* September); Fourteenth Centenary of the Order of St. Benedict, 529-1929 (A Benedictine Monk, *Homiletic and Pastoral Review,* September); The Black Monks of St. Benedict, 529-1929 (Dom Maternus, O. S. B., *Ave Maria,* July 20); Pre-Reformation Printers and Their Services to the Church (J. M. Lenhart, O. M. Cap., *Ecclesiastical Review,* August, September); The Evolution of the Idea of Faith in Protestant Sects (John L. Bazinet, *ibid.*); Church History by Non-Catholic Historians: Gibbon, Carlyle, Von Ranke (J. E. Graham, *Truth,* July, August, September); La Renovación del Arte Litúrgico, II (D. Zurbitu, *Razón y Fe,* June 29); Karl der Grosse und Karlmann (M. Lintzel, *Historische Zeitschrift,* 140, 1); Cardinal Gasquet, Man of Letters (Bishop Shahan, *Commonweal,* July 17); Cardinal Gasquet, Scholar (Bishop Shahan, *ibid.,* July 24); Cardinal Gasquet and the Revision of the Vulgate (Joseph Bruneau, *Catholic World,* July); Vossler's Idea of Medieval Culture (Bede Jarrett, O. P., *Catholic World,* August); La Tradition Évangélique (Mgr. Pierre Batiffol, *Correspondant,* July 25); L'Opera

Politica di Leone XIII (Filippo Meda, *Revista Internazionale,* June); The Franciscans in Mexico in the Sixteenth Century (John J. O'Gorman, *Ecclesiastical Review,* September).

European: The Catholic International Movement in Europe (Félix Klein, *Catholic World,* September); Une Question mal Posée: les Origines de la Réforme Française et le Problème Général des Causes de la Réforme (Lucien Febvre, *Revue Historique,* May-June); Bossuet en Face de la Mort (Emile Baumann, *La Revue Générale,* June 15); Le premier Monastère de la Visitation de Paris de 1619 à 1660 (P. Coste, *Revue des Études Historiques,* April-June); La Curieuse Vie de l'Abbé de Pradt (Col. Daupeyroux, *ibid.,* July-September); John Gerson, 1429-1929 (W. J. Lonergan, *America,* July 27); Archivos Historicos del Alto Aragón (Ricardo del Arco, *Universidad,* May-June); Après la Révolution: la Réorganisation des Séminaires au Diocése de Mans, 1801-1819 (Abbé Louis Calendini, *Revue des Questions Historiques,* April); Les Catholiques Belges et la Liberté (Comte L. de Lichtervelde, *La Revue Générale,* June 15); Le Mouvement Théologique et Religieux en Allemagne (Erich Przywara, S. J., *Nouvelle Revue Théologique,* July-August); Aus den Akten des Rottweiler Provinzialkapitels der Dominikaner vom Jahre 1396 (Berthold Altaner, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte,* XLVIII, 1); Das Bistum Basel während des Grossen Schismas, 1378-1415, II (Karl Schönenberger, *Basler Zeitschrift,* 27); The Religious-Political Struggles in Switzerland during the Nineteenth Century (Johannes Furger, *Central-Blatt and Social Justice,* August); Le Roman d'une Famille Catholique en Suède (Jacques de Coussange, *La Revue Générale,* August 15); Il Testamento de S. Caterina (G. Calisse, *Rassegna Nazionale,* July); Lateran Treaty and Italian Concordat (Bishop Shahan, *Catholic World,* July).

British Empire: A Scottish Bishop of Orleans [John Kirkmichael, one of the consecrating prelates of Joan of Arc's Dauphin] (J. H. Baxter, *Scots Magazine,* July); More Witness against "Continuity" (C. E. Jeffery, *Month,* August); The City of Oxford in the Middle Ages (H. E. Salter, *History,* July); Spoil from the English Monastic Libraries (F. C. Jones, *Contemporary Review,* July); Cambridge University Martyrs (N. MacD. Wilby, *Month,* June); Bossuet's Interest in the Church of England (W. J. Sparrow Simpson, *American Church Monthly,* July); Mrs. Fitzherbert and Catholic Emancipation (Denis Gwynn, *Catholic World,* August); La Gloire Posthume d'une

Mystique Canadienne: Catherine de Saint Augustin (Georges Goyau, *Correspondant,* August 10).

United States: William Penn and the Church (George Barton, *America,* June 22); Charles Calvert and some of His Descendants (J. B. C. Nicklin, *Maryland Historical Magazine,* June); The Religious Side of Joseph Brant (M. L. Bonham, Jr., *Journal of Religion,* July).

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